



HIS HIGHNESS SIR SRI KANTIRAVA NARASIMHARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR, G.C.I.E.,
YUVARAJA OF MYSORE.

THE MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES

VOLUME III

BY

THE LATE H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L., C.I.E.,

*Superintendent of Ethnography, Mysore ; Vice-Chancellor of
The Mysore University.*

AND

RAO BAHADUR L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER, B.A., L.T.,

*Curator of the State Museum, Superintendent of the Zoological Gardens,
Superintendent of Ethnography, Trichur, Cochin State,
(Retired);*

*Lecturer in Anthropology, and Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Calcutta University, Calcutta ; Officer in Charge of Ethnographic
Survey, Mysore. Author of the Cochin Tribes and Castes,
Anthropology of the Syrian Christians ; Lecturer on
Ethnography ;*

*Corresponding Member of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain
and Ireland, London. Corresponding Member of the Bureau of
American Ethnology, Washington, U. S. A., Associate Member
of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,
Calcutta, etc.*

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 RAVA NARASIMHARAJA WADIYAR
 BAHADUR, G.C.I.E., YUVARAJA
 OF MYSORE**

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PRONUNCIATION.

a has the sound of u in but or murmur.

ā	„	„	a in bath or tar.
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e	„	„	e in ecarte or ai in maid.
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i	„	„	i in bit, or (as a final letter) of y in sulky.
----------	---	---	--

ī	„	„	ee in beet.
----------	---	---	-------------

o	„	„	o in bore or bowl.
----------	---	---	--------------------

u	„	„	u in put or bull.
----------	---	---	-------------------

ū	„	„	oo in poor or boot.
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N.B.—The abbreviations found in the book, viz., M. C. R. and E. R. E. stand for Madras Census Report and Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, respectively.

THE MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES

Volume III.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN.

(Roman Catholics.)

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MYSORE—POPULATION AND HABITATIONS—DOCTRINE—THE DIVINE TRINITY—JESUS CHRIST—THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH—THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS—RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONAL PRACTICES—MARRIAGE AND CELIBACY—THE PROPERTIES OF MARRIAGE: UNITY AND INDISSOLUBILITY—MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENTS—MARRIAGES AS CONTRACT AND AS SACRAMENT—PREPARATIVES TO MARRIAGE: BETHOTHAL AND BANNIS—SOLEMNIZATION OF MARRIAGE—MARRIAGE AND FAMILY—PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH—BAPTISM—CASTES, OCCUPATIONS AND OTHER USAGES—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—FOOD—DRESS.

THE close connection of the greater part of Mysore with Malabar and the Western Coast affords grounds for supposing that Christian influences may, at a very early period, have been extended to this country. But the first systematic attempt to convert Mysore to Christianity was made by the Dominicans about 1325 A.D. The leader was *Fra Jourdain Catalanus de Severac* who, on his return to Europe, was consecrated in 1328, Bishop of Quilon at Avignon by Pope John XXII. After his consecration he came back to India where he was put to death by the Muhammadans at Thana near Bombay. The converts by the Dominicans, in the territories which later on went to the Mysore

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MYSORE.

Province, numbered at least 10,000, but nothing is known of what became of them. There is, it is true, a statement that in 1445 a Christian was Dewan of Vijanagar. He may have been a descendant of those converts.* But it is really from the capture of Goa by Albuquerque in 1510 that we may date the foundation of the Roman Catholic Church in Southern India.

Through the Bijapur conquest of the North and East of Mysore and the intimate relations which existed between the Bijapur State and Goa, Christian influence and preaching found their way to Mysore. There is a tradition that St. Francis Xavier, the zealous disciple of St. Ignatius of Loyola, who came out to India in 1542, traversed Mysore on his way to the South, but his attempts at conversion among the Canarese people proved fruitless.†

The Franciscans found their way to Mysore from Goa about 1587 A. D. We have no definite information on the result of their preaching, but when the Jesuits appeared on the scene in the beginning of the following century, they found Catholics in the Mysore Territory: a special mention is made of a flourishing congregation at Seringapatam.

It was the Portuguese Jesuits who founded the Canarese Mission. They came from Satiamangalam in Coimbatore, where they had a large number of Christians, through the wild tracts of jungle on the borders of the Cauvery, and established congregations, the descendants of whom are still to be found, in a few villages in the south-east of Mysore. On one

* *Du Brahmanisme et de ses rapports avec le Judaïsme et le Christianisme*, by Myr. Laouenan, Pondicherry: 1st. p, to. 11, pages 402-403.

† On the strength of an inscription purporting to have the words "Jesu Naderu" and the date 1400 engraved at the foot of a Cross it had been asserted that this was the most ancient known Catholic Station in the province but on further investigations it has been proved that the stone is an ordinary boundary stone with a cross but without date.

spot, at Basavapatna, is pointed out a ruined chapel marked by four large stones, on which are inscriptions dated 1704 authenticating the gift of the land to the "Sanyasis of Rome." Father Cinnami made Seringapatam the head-quarters of the Jesuit Canarese Mission. The number of Christians in Seringapatam itself was greatly increased when Hyder Ali brought thither nine thousand Catholics from Mangalore. Some of these Catholics were enrolled in the army, and put in charge of one of the forts of the city, others were employed in manufacturing arms and in looking after the horses. At Palhally near Seringapatam another Christian congregation was formed, but we do not know at what date. There is a tomb stone in the church bearing the name of one Father Michael and the date 1781. Gadanhalli had its first Christian converts in 1760. It contains the tomb of one Father Rajendra with the date 1776. When Hyder Ali conquered Nagar in 1763 Konkānis came to that place where they built a chapel of which nothing remains. It is said that of the two bells which were in the church the larger one is in a Hindu temple at the foot of the Ghats and the other one in another temple near Nagar itself. In Tumkur District, Sira had a Catholic church in 1770.

In the east, a Telugu Mission was established in 1702 by two French Jesuits, named Boucher and Mauduit, who came from Thakkolum about eight miles from Arkonam and who built chapels at Bangalore, Devanhalli, Chik-Ballapur, Hoskote, Anekal, Kolar and other places. Abbé Dubois from authentic records computes the number of Christians in Mysore in 1750 at about 35,000 but then the limits of Mysore were different from what they are now. They did not include the region North-East of Bangalore nor the kingdom of Bednore, but on the other hand Coimbatore was a part of it, and probably the bulk of these

Catholics belonged to the Coimbatore District. Yet the Telugu Mission may have probably made up for it, so that we can accept that total as being approximately the number of Christians in the middle of the 18th century in what now forms the Mysore State.

In 1775 there were thirteen Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries in the Canarese Mission and about the same number of French Missionaries in the Telugu Mission.

The progress of the Missions received a severe check from the suppression of the Jesuits in 1759 in Portugal and in 1773 all over Europe, which stopped the supply of Missionaries, and from the fanatical persecution of Tippu, who was determined, if possible, to extirpate Christianity from his dominions. By his orders almost all the churches and chapels were razed to the ground, with two remarkable exceptions: one a small chapel at Grāma near Hassan, which was preserved by a Muhammadan Officer, and the other, that in the Fort of Seringapatam, which was protected by the native Christian troops under their Commander Sūrappa.

For a few years Indian Priests sent from Goa were in charge of the few Christians who remained. In 1777, the Holy See entrusted the care of the Carnatic Mission, with headquarters at Pondicherry, to the Society of the Foreign Missions of Paris, and Mysore became a part of that Mission. On the fall of Tippu, a member of that Society, the famous Abbé Dubois, was sent to Seringapatam where he was well received by Colonel Wellesley. He remained, assisted by four Goanese priests, in charge of all the Christians in Mysore. It has been said that this remarkable man had escaped from one of the fusillades of the French Revolution and sought refuge in India, but this is incorrect. Abbé Dubois left Paris on the 19th of January 1792, one year before the massacres of

the French Revolution began. On entering on mission work, he resolved to follow the example illustriously set by de Nobili and Beschi, of adopting the Indian costume and accommodating himself to the customs and modes of life of the country. "During the long period," he states, "that I remained amongst the Indians, I made it my constant rule to live as they did, conforming exactly in all things to their manner, to their style of living and clothing and even to most of their prejudices. In this way I became quite familiar with the various tribes that compose the Indian Nation, and acquired the confidence of those whose aid was most necessary for the purpose of my work." The influence he thus acquired is testified to by Major Wilks, who says:—"Of the respect which his irreproachable conduct inspires, it may be sufficient to state that, when travelling, on his approach to a village, the house of a Brāhman is uniformly cleared for his reception, without interference, and generally without communication to the Officers of Government, as a spontaneous mark of deference and respect."

He was the founder of the Church in Mysore, and of the Christian agricultural community of Settihalli near Hassan, and laboured in Mysore for twenty-two years. He wrote a well-known work on "The Customs, Institutions and Ceremonies of the People of India," the manuscript of which was purchased by the British Government. He is also said to have introduced vaccination into the Province. He left India in 1823, the Government paying his passage and giving him a pension. On his return to France he became one of the Directors at the Seminary of the Foreign Missions in Paris, and died universally respected in 1848.

Mysore remained a part of the Carnatic, or Coromandel, Mission till 1844 when it was erected into a

separate Vicariate Apostolic. It included then the Mysore State, the small province of Coorg, and three Taluks of the Madras Presidency, namely Wynaad, Collegal and Hosur. Its headquarters were fixed at Bangalore and it was governed by Vicars Apostolic assisted by European Priests (all members of the Society of the Foreign Missions of Paris) and by Indian Clergy.

In 1887 the Hierarchy was proclaimed in India, and the countries above mentioned were erected into a Bishopric, under the title of "Diocese of Mysore," the headquarters remaining at Bangalore as before. In 1923 Wynaad taluk was detached from Mysore to be part of the newly formed diocese of Calicut.

There are at Bangalore a Cathedral for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and five Churches for Indians. The outstations of the Diocese are divided into sixteen districts, of which eleven are in Mysore territory, all being under the ministration either of European Priests sent by the Society of Foreign Missions in Paris, or of Indian Priests.

By the end of the year 1927, there were in the Mysore Diocese 50 schools both for girls and boys with 7538 pupils. The most important Institution for boys is St. Joseph's College in Bangalore, which receives European and Indian students and teaches up to the B.A. The Chief educational Institution for girls is the Sacred Heart College, also in Bangalore, and teaching up to the Intermediate.

There are at present one Bishop styled "Bishop of Mysore" with the headquarters at Bangalore, 39 European priests, 6 Anglo-Indian priests and 23 Indian priests in the whole diocese.

The Religious Communities of men are the brothers of the Immaculate Conception and the Franciscan Missionary Brothers of Mount Poincur, near Bombay, both engaged in educational work in Bangalore.

The Religious Communities of women are :—

1. The Nuns of the Good Shepherd with headquarters in their Convent in Bangalore, and branches in St. Martha's Hospital and in Mysore, all engaged in educational or Hospital work.

2. The Magdalenes, under the direction of the Nuns of the Good Shepherd.

3. The Sisters of St. Joseph's of Tarbes at Cleveland Town, Bangalore; with branches at Champion Reefs, Chickmagalur and Mercara, for Educational work; and at Bowring Hospital at Bangalore for Hospital work.

4. The Little Sisters of the Poor, Home for the Aged, Bangalore.

5. The Catechists of Mary in Bangalore City and at Setti-hally near Hassan.

6. There are also Indian Sisters attached to the Convents of the Good Shepherd, of St. Joseph and of the Catechist Sisters.

Agricultural farms with villages populated chiefly by famine orphans have been established at Siluvel-pura, Nelamangala Taluk, and Mariapura, Kankan-hally Taluk. Over 1,500 orphans, both boys and girls, are supported by the Mission.

The total Catholic population of the Mysore Diocese in 1927 was 60,377, roughly 56,000 in Mysore and the rest in British territory. Two per cent were Europeans and 3 per cent Anglo-Indians, the remainder being Indians.

The Roman Catholic Diocese of Mysore can boast of splendid buildings, more specially in Bangalore.*

The Roman Catholics form three-fourths of the Christian population in Mysore State (Protestants being roughly 20,000). And among them, as already stated, 95 per cent are natives or Indian Christians. The reasons why the Indian element is far larger among them than in other Christian communities are chiefly three :—

(a) Roman Catholicism has been longer in the State ;

POPULATION
AND DISTRI-
BUTION.

* I am indebted to the late Rev. Father Tabard for the early Church History.

(b) The Roman Catholic ideal of self-denial and celibacy in its priests together with its elaborate and festival-loving ritual has a fascination for the Indian of any caste ; *

(c) Conversion to it involves the least amount of disturbance in the customs and manners of the convert.

The Roman Catholics are thus distributed through the State :—

WESTERN DISTRICTS.			EASTERN DISTRICTS.		
Mysore, roughly	..	4·300	Bangalore, roughly	.	30·000
Hassan	"	3·000	Kolar	"	10·000
Kadur	"	4·000	Tumkur	"	400
Shimoga	"	4·000	Chitaldroog	"	300

Their habitations are similar to those of Hindus, the well-to-do families occupying decent houses, and the poorer ones, houses corresponding to those of the lower classes.

DOCTRINE.

The Roman Catholics no less than the Muhammadans and the Protestants are *strict Monotheists* and repudiate any sort of Pantheism and Polytheism. Their teaching involves no doctrine or practice which is idolatrous or magical ; though we must confess that through erroneous interpretation of some of their religious practices, the accusation of idolatry and magic is common enough among a certain set of writers, either through mere ignorance or through wilful prejudices.

For Catholics *the supreme aim of life* is to live according to the will of God ; and by this to obtain at death the beatific vision in which God will reveal himself directly to the human soul and satisfy it to the utmost. This is called salvation and the loss of it is called damnation. Now to live a life according

* M. C. R. 1921, page 35.



A CATHEDRAL AT BANGALORE.

to the will of God, a Catholic has to observe three chief things; *viz.*, to give his assent to the truths that have been revealed by God; to observe in his conduct the moral principles revealed also by God; and to adopt certain practices of worship or asceticism established by God or His Church, some under pain of sin, and some as optional for greater spiritual perfection.

As soon as a Christian child comes to the age of learning or an adult from another religion wishes to become a Roman Catholic, these are the things which he is made to learn. For this purpose a small *summary of the essential doctrines* has been composed, which in English is called "Catechism," in Tamil "காத்தேகிசம் குறிப்பிடம்," or simply "காத்தேசம்," and in Kanarese "ಕ್ಯಾಥೆಕಿಸದೇಶದ ಸಂಕ್ಷೇಪವು." As far as possible they are made to learn it by heart, and at the same time they are given suitable explanations to understand the meaning and the practical import of it all for their life.

Moreover, the *principal truths* have been summed up in a short formula called "Apostles' Creed" which dates from the first centuries of the Christian era. The following is the formula:—"I believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth; and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; He descended into Hell; the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into Heaven; from thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the Communion of Saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and life everlasting."

As to the *great principles of morality*, they are contained in the "Decalogue" which was revealed by

God to Moses on Mount Sinai about 12 or 14 hundred years before Christ. It reads as follows:—

1. "I am the Lord thy God ; thou shalt not have strange gods before me. Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, nor of those things that are in the waters under the earth. Thou shalt not adore them nor serve them ; I am the Lord thy God, mighty, jealous, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me ; and shewing mercy unto thousands to them that love me and keep my commandments." (Images and likenesses forbidden by this commandment are those which were made to be adored and served as idols or worshipped with divine honour ; not those which were made for some legitimate purpose, as can be seen from others passages in Holy Scripture.)

2. "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain ; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that shall take the name of the Lord in vain."

3. "Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day. Six days shalt thou labour, and shall do all thy works. But on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God ; thou shalt do no work on it, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy beast, nor the stranger that is within thy gates." (*N. B.*—In honour of Jesus Christ's resurrection from the dead, which happened on a Sunday, from the Apostle's time the Christians changed the day of the Lord from Saturday to Sunday.)

4. "Honour thy father and thy mother that thou mayest be long-lived upon the land the Lord thy God will give thee."

5. "Thou shalt not kill."

6. "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

7. "Thou shalt not steal."

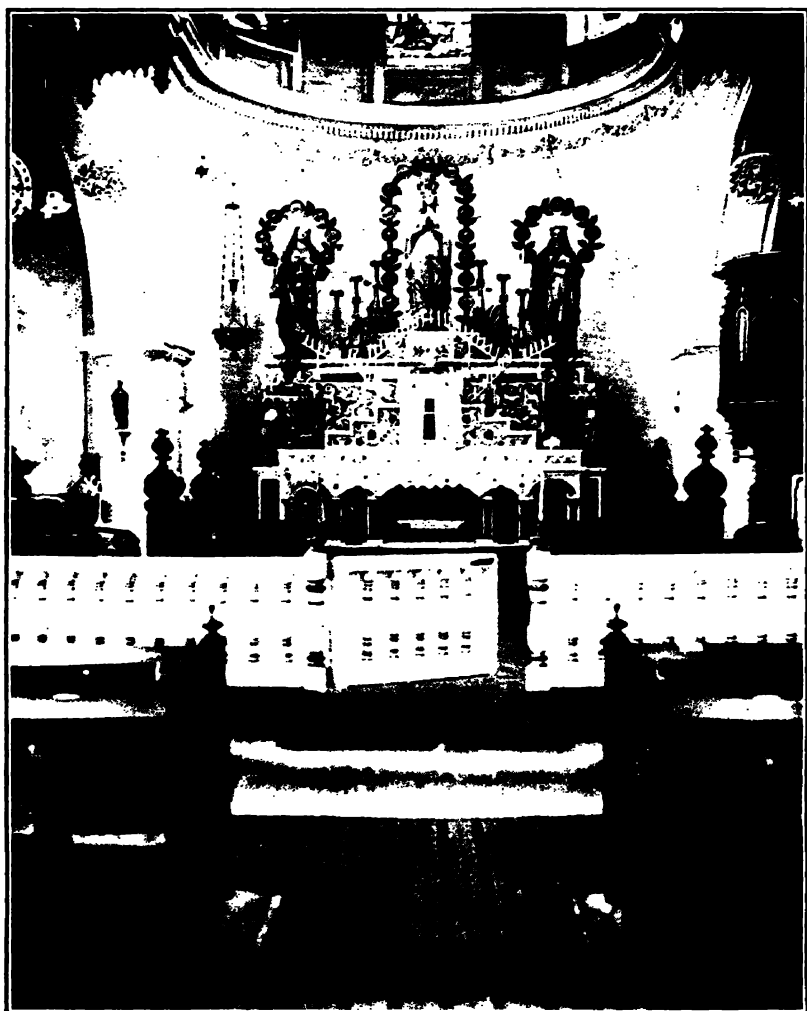
8. "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour."

9. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house."

10. "Neither shalt thou desire his wife, nor his servants, nor his hand-maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his."

—*Exodus XX. 2-17 Douay Version.*

These ten Commandments are further summarized into two shorter ones : love God above all things, and love your neighbour as yourself, which is the



A CATHEDRAL AT BANGALORE (INSIDE VIEW).

equivalent of the words of Jesus Christ himself : "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and the first Commandment. And the second is like to this : thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." (in Mt. XXII, 37-39).

To the observation of these commandments of God, which by Roman Catholic theologians are considered as the embodiment of the Natural or Conscience-Law, the faithful are to add the observation of certain other *precepts imposed by the Church* with regard to certain practices of worship or asceticism. The following are the most important :—

1. Assisting at the celebration of Holy Mass, and abstaining from servile work, from going to courts and offices, and from trading, on all Sundays of the year and on several feast-days. These feast-days are ten for the whole Church, but by special privilege to the Church in India have been here reduced to four, viz., Christmas on the 25th December ; Ascension of the Lord and Corpus Christi (the Blessed Sacrament's feast) coming in the months of May and June, their date depending upon the date of Easter Sunday ; and the Assumption of Our Lady on the 15th of August.

2. Confessing one's sins at least once a year.

3. Receiving Holy Communion at least once in the year, and that, as far as possible, during Easter-time.

4. Abstaining from eating meat on all Fridays of the year and certain other days which in India are reduced to Lent Wednesdays * and the Vigil of the Assumption feast.

5. Fasting on certain days, which in India are reduced to the Fridays in Lent and the Vigil of Christmas. We must remark, however, that among Roman Catholics fasting does not mean total abstinence from food and drink ; it means that one should limit himself to any one full meal for that day (of 24 hours), with permission of taking a little food in the morning and in the evening, the quantity and the quality of which is to be determined by local customs. This law is binding only on persons having completed their 21st year of age and having not reached the 60th, while the preceding laws 1 to 4 begin to bind Catholics

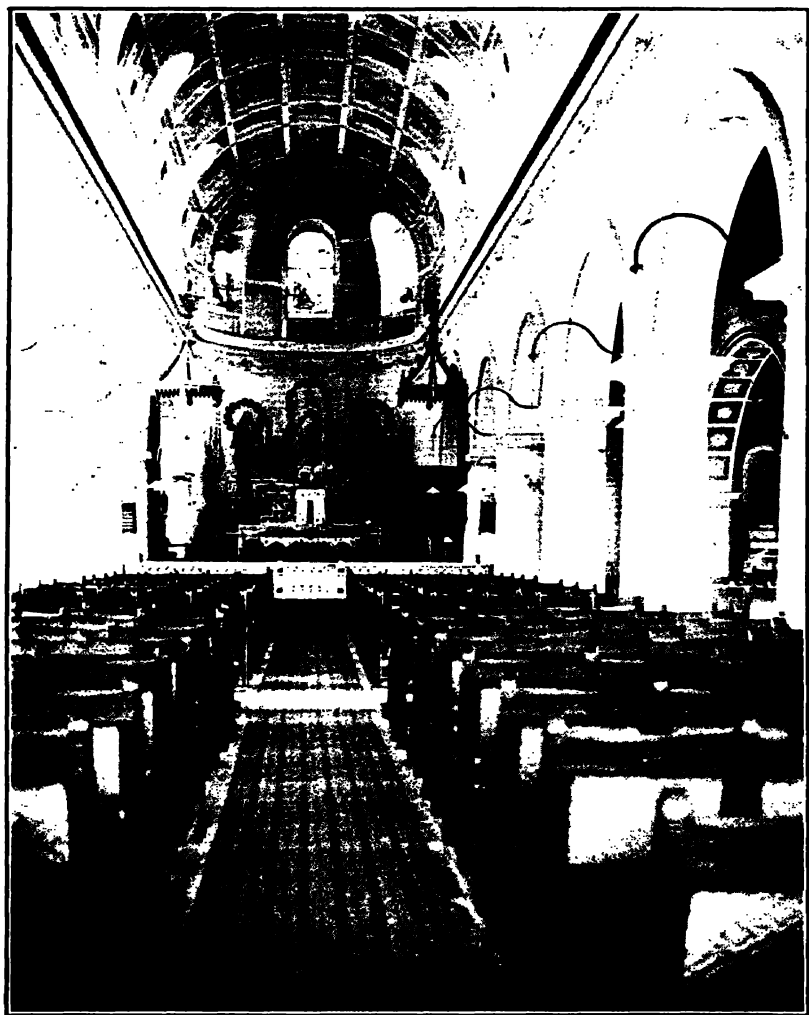
* Lent is a time of penance, preparatory to Easter Solemnities.

from the time they have reached the age of discretion, which for most people begins towards the 7th year.

Such are summarily the three great and essential constituents of the Roman Catholic Religion. We can see now with more details some special points which are already implied in the above constituents and are distinctively Catholic.

THE DIVINE TRINITY.

In the Apostles' Creed mention is made of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost. This Trinity in God is quite a different thing from the Hindu Trimūrti of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, whether this is understood as three distinct gods or whether it is understood as three distinct manifestations of Brahma the impersonal Being. The Catholic teaching is, that God is perfectly one in essence and nature, but that he has a threefold personality, nature and person not being correlative in God, as it is among creatures for whom there are as many persons as there are rational beings. Theologians admit that the existence of one God in three distinct persons is a mystery of the first magnitude, which therefore was unknowable to reason and even after revelation remains to a great extent above human understanding. Some explanations, however, are given which help to understand something of it. God does not subsist without having his own life which is spiritual and internal. This life consists in understanding and loving himself; in this way we have God principle of life, God understood and God loved; it is these three distinct things or absolute attributes which constitute God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, and the word "person" has been chosen for want of a better word as rendering better than any other word the distinctness which exist between these three consequents of divine life without dividing however the unity of God's essence and nature.



A CATHEDRAL AT BANGALORE (INSIDE VIEW).

Another remarkable belief of Roman Catholics is their belief in Jesus Christ. Jesus is the personal name of the founder of Christianity ; it is a Hebrew name which means "Saviour." Christ (*Christos*) is the Greek translation of the Hebrew noun "*Messiah*," which means "the anointed one." It is this last noun which was chosen by the Greeks of Antioch in Syria to designate the followers of Jesus, as we read in the Acts : (Paul and Barnabas) "taught a great multitude, so that at Antioch the disciples (of Jesus) were first named Christians." (Acts XI, 26.)

JESUS
CHRIST.

The origin of this belief in Jesus Christ is as follows :—

God had created the first man and woman in a state of perfect innocence and with immunity from concupiscence, ignorance, suffering and even death, so that after a time on earth they would pass directly into the state of Beatific Vision. These privileges were also to be transmitted to their posterity. But God wanted that man should have a certain amount of co-operation or merit to this favour. In this view, He put Adam and Eve, the first parents of humanity, on trial, giving them a certain prohibition which if they would observe faithfully, the above privileges were to remain permanent in them and their posterity. Unhappily Adam and Eve, after some time, infringed the command given to them, and committed what is called the original sin. By this they brought on them the displeasure of God, and lost for themselves and for their posterity the privileges granted to them at first. God however had pity on them and resolved that the original sin should be forgiven and man should be given the means to attain the Beatific Vision, though he would remain deprived of the immunity from concupiscence, ignorance, suffering and death. To redeem man from original sin and reinstate him in the possibility of

attaining the Beatific Vision, God decided within himself that He should incarnate and suffer, in the human nature assumed by Him, for the sins of man. It is indeed what he promised to Adam and Eve in an apparition to them after their sins. "And the Lord God said the serpent (the devil who had induced Eve to eat the forbidden fruit) : because thou hast done this thing, thou art cursed. I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed. (*N.B.*—this last word is to be understood of Jesus Christ) ; and this shall crash thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for its heel. To the woman also He said : I will multiply thy sorrows and thy conceptions ; in sorrows shalt thou bring forth children, and thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.—And to Adam He said : Because thou hast harkened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of this tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat, cursed is the earth in thy work ; with labour and toil shalt thou eat thereof all the days of thy life ; thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee ; and thou shalt eat the herbs of the earth ; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread till thou return to the earth, out of which thou wast taken." (Genesis III, 14–19). Such is the first promise of a Saviour to the human race, which had merited to this passage the name of Proto-Gospel. The rest of the Old Testament is but the history of the way in which God prepared the coming of His incarnation in Jesus Christ, the New Testament on the other hand being the history of Jesus Christ and his apostles establishing the Church which is to be the means of man's salvation.

As to Jesus Christ he is the incarnation of God in His second personality. In His human body he is the son of the Blessed Virgin Mary who conceived him not from man, but miraculously by the will of

God. As other men he was given a human soul at the moment of his conception ; but to this human nature has been united also divine nature, so that Jesus Christ, though he forms a single person, is possessed of two natures, being at the same time God and Man.

The History of Jesus Christ is too well known or can be known so easily from books found everywhere that we can pass over it. The best books about it are undoubtedly the four little books called Gospels, two of which were written by Apostles, namely, St. Matthew and St. John ; and two were written by disciples of the Apostles, namely St. Mark, disciple of St. Peter, and St. Luke, disciple of St. Paul.

Jesus Christ, in establishing his new religion or economy for man's salvation, did not leave things to the care of each individual man. He organized his believers into an ideal body which was called Church or "*Ecclesia*," a word which originally meant an assembly called together. In this body there were to be two great classes of members : the teaching and ruling members and the members who were to be taught and ruled. The latter go usually under the general name of "Faithful" or the laity. As to the teaching and ruling members, they form what is called "Clergy," or Sacred Hierarchy.

THE HOLY
CATHOLIC
CHURCH

(திருச்சபை,
அல்ல சபை).

This sacred hierarchy comprises members of different grades, which are thus defined in the Canon Law* : "From divine institution (institution by Jesus Christ) the sacred hierarchy with regard to the power of order (administration of the sacraments) is composed of Bishops, Priests and Ministers, but with regard to the power of Jurisdiction (authoritative teaching together with legislative, judicial and coercitive power) is composed of the

* The Code of Canon Law (officially *Codex Juris Canonici*) embodies the laws of the Church.

supreme Pontificate and the subordinate Episcopate ; by ecclesiastical institution other grades also have been introduced." (Canon 108). The supreme Pontificate belongs to St. Peter's successor, the Bishop of Rome, aided in his great responsibilities by a set of congregations or ministerial departments presided usually by a cardinal : It is this supreme government which is called "Holy See." Then throughout the world there are ecclesiastical divisions which according to the degree of their progress are called Dioceses, Vicariates Apostolic, etc. ; at the head of each there is a Bishop, governing in his own name if his division is a diocese, or in the name of the Pope if the division is a vicariate apostolic.* These greater divisions are again subdivided into lesser divisions which are usually called Parishes and are entrusted to a Parish priest without or with assistant priests. In countries where Catholicism is much developed parishes correspond to villages ; in other countries a parish may extend over several villages, as the case is in Mysore State.

The duty of the Parish Priest is to attend to the religious needs of the parishioners ; but occasionally he attends also to their most important social matters, which he does with the help of the elderly members. Cases of offence against moral and social order are usually brought to the notice of the Parish Priest (or Vicar) who, together with the elders, enquires into the truth of the accusation. If the accusation is found true and the offence is a very serious one, the case must be submitted to the Bishop ; for priests have no judicial and coercitive power proper ; their power is restricted to paternal corrections which do not

* Grades of ecclesiastical institution are for instance the dignities of Patriarch, Primate, Metropolitan, Archbishop which are held by the Bishop of certain dioceses with the right of precedence and supervision in certain matters over other bishops. The diocese of Mysore depends in this way to some extent on the Archbishop of Pondicherry.

deprive the faithful of any right, and therefore restricted to minor offences entailing light punishments such as giving candles, oil or frankincense for use in Church, fines in the shape of money, going round the Church on bended knees, etc. Excommunication or interdict barring a faithful from receiving sacraments or entering the Church during ceremonies should not be imposed without the approval of the Bishop. Offences against caste are judged by the elders of the caste, but usually in deference to the priest no decision is taken without its being submitted to him who sees to it that justice is not offended and very often induces the elders to impose a milder punishment.

Roman Catholics do not style themselves as one of the Christian denominations, for they believe that Christ founded but one Church, which is theirs. It was defined by a universal Council at Constantinople in the year 381 that the Church of Christ is : " One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic." This means that a Church cannot be the Church of Christ, which does not teach perfect holiness and does not produce a good amount of holiness among its members (this is the moral criterium, the other criteria being rather juridical) ; nor could that Church be the Church of Christ which admits variety of doctrine and government either in the course of times or at any particular period among its various ministers and members ; which restricts its membership to certain classes or certain nations ; which does not derive its hierarchy or government and doctrine without any interruption from the Apostles. And Roman Catholics are persuaded that their Church alone possesses, enjoys and shows forth the above four marks as pointed out in Holy Scripture and therefore is alone the Church founded by Jesus Christ.

Another belief of the Roman Catholics is that no one can be saved unless he becomes a member of the

true Church, and remains a faithful member of it up to his death : "*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*," that is:—outside the church no salvation. Theologians however remark that as no one shall be damned except through his fault, the damnation must be understood only of those who having known sufficiently well this obligation of entering the Church have neglected doing so for worldly motives. As to the others who remain outside the Church through no fault of theirs, no one can say for certain what will be their eternal fate ; this is the secret of God who acts always with justice and mercy.

THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

Towards the end of the Apostles Creed mention is made of the forgiveness of sins. For Catholics this forgiveness is obtained chiefly by means of Sacraments ; hence the necessity to say a few words about this doctrine which holds a very important place among the doctrines of Roman Catholicism.

Roman Catholics admit that originally and generally speaking the word "sacrament" is said of any sacred usage and ceremony. In course of time however Christian theologians have given it a restricted and technical sense, which is not to be forgotten when a comparison is made between Catholic practices and other religious practices.

For Catholics this word is reserved to seven rites, the special character of which is to be at the same time symbolical and productive of a special sanctification in the persons that receive them ; and, as such sanctification could be attached to an external rite only by God, the Sacraments derive their institution from Jesus Christ. They are said to be symbols or signs because their external constituents are such as to have also a spiritual meaning as, *v.g.*, the external ablution of baptism serves well to signify the purification of the soul. They are said also

productive, because Jesus Christ as God has attached to them the power to produce what they signify, so that *v.g.*, baptism cleans the soul of the receiver from all sins. We must add however that the producing of this personal sanctification is conditioned: the soul must be with those spiritual dispositions which will not be an obstacle to the grace or sanctification to be produced; thus, for instance, a man who receives baptism must have the intention to become a member of the Church by baptism, and he must repent of his past sins in order to receive effectively forgiveness of them by baptism. It is probably this whole set of notes required for a sacrament that prevented the first Christians in India to choose the Sanscrit word "samskara" to translate the word "sacrament" though in the meaning of both words there is more than one note which is common; in Tamil the word forged to translate sacrament is "தேவத்திரவிய அனுமான்," and in Canarese, "ದೇವದ್ರವ್ಯ ಅನುಮಾನ."

These sacraments are seven in number: five to help man in his own spiritual life in five different circumstances, namely baptism, confirmation, holy Eucharist, penance and extreme-unction; and two to help man with regard to the twofold society to which he belongs, namely, order to give spiritual fathers to the faithful, and marriage for the natural propagation of the human race. Here are the definitions given by the Code of Canon Law of each sacrament:—

"Baptism, the door and fundament to other sacraments, and necessary in itself or at least in desire for salvation, is not given validly unless it is given by an ablution of true and natural water and with the words prescribed for it." (Canon 737).

"Confirmation must be given by an imposition of the hand, an unction of chrism on the forehead and the words prescribed for it in the pontifical books approved by the Church." (Canon 780).

"In the Holy Eucharist under the species of bread and wine Jesus Christ himself is contained, offered and taken." (Canon 801).*

"In the Sacrament of Penance, by judicial absolution given by a legitimate minister, are forgiven to the faithful properly disposed his sins committed after baptism." (c. 870).

"The Sacrament of extreme-unction should be given by sacred unctions of olive oil properly blessed and the words prescribed in rituals approved by the Church." (c. 937)

"Order is the sacrament which by Christ's institution distinguishes in the Church the clergy from the laity in view of ruling the faithful and ministering to the divine cult." (c. 948).

"Christ the Lord raised to the dignity of sacrament the matrimonial contract among the baptised ; so that among the baptised no matrimonial contract is valid which is not at the same time a sacrament." (c. 1012).

A remarkable thing in the institution of these spiritual helps is the way in which the growth of spiritual life is given a certain conformity with the growth of the life of the body. By baptism man is constituted in spiritual life ; by confirmation the life given in baptism is strengthened against enemies ; by Holy Eucharist this life is provided with its nourishment ; by penance this life is provided with a remedy for its sickness constituted by sins ; by extreme unction this life is provided with a powerful restorative at the moment when it is exposed to the supreme trial which accompanies the passing from this world ; by order are appointed and sanctified men who will take care of the common welfare ; and by matrimony husband and wife are specially sanctified for their family duties. We shall refer further to Baptism, the sacrifice of the Mass, Matrimony and Extreme-Unction.

RELIGIOUS
WORSHIP
AND
DEVOTIONAL
PRACTICES.

Religious worship, originating in the relation between the Creator and the creature, is an essential feature of

* On account of these different aspects this sacrament has different names, the chief ones being : Blessed Sacrament, Holy Mass or Sacrifice of the Mass, Holy Communion, Holy Eucharist, Sacrament of the Altar.



THE LORD BISHOP OF MYSORE.

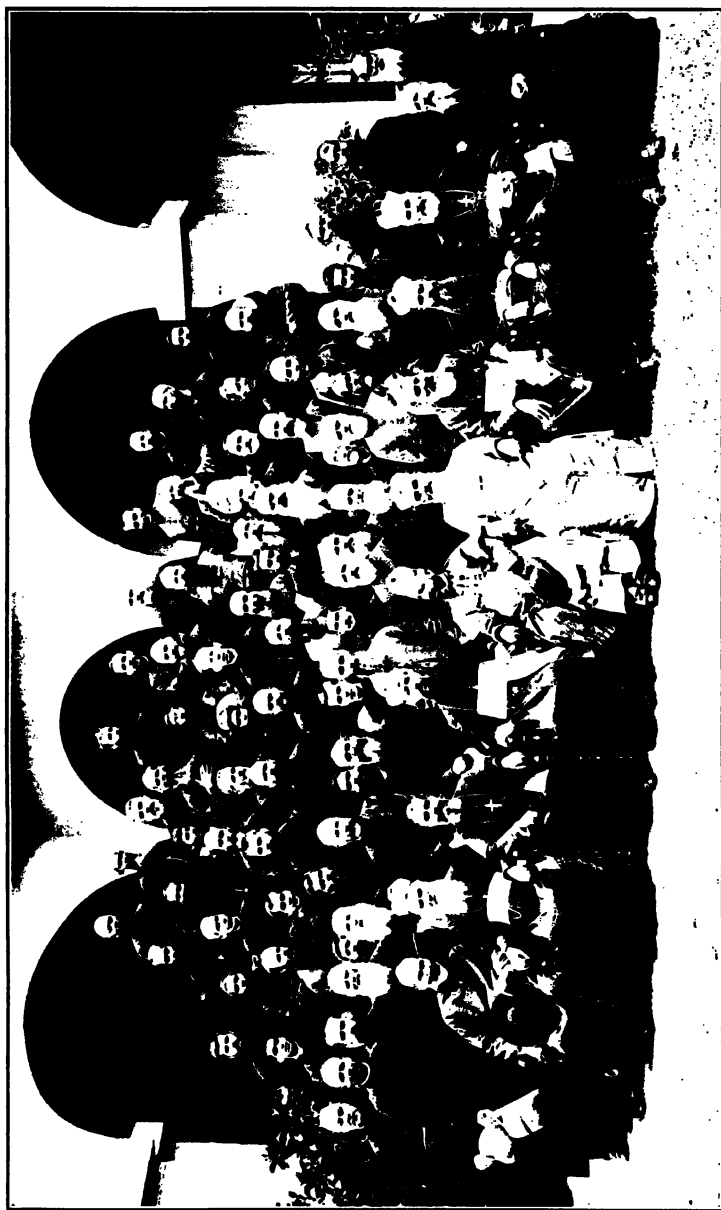
every religion that acknowledges a Creator as Roman Catholicism does. Foremost, according to its beliefs, is the *supreme worship of God* himself either as one God in nature ; or in his three persons as Father, Son and Holy Ghost ; or as God incarnate in Jesus Christ ; or lastly as being really present in a special way in the Holy Eucharist. This is what is defined in the Code of Canon Law : " To the Blessed Trinity (as a whole), to each of the three persons, to Christ our Lord even under the sacramental species is due the cult of latria." (Canon 1255). This cult of latria is divine worship. But around God there clusters a crown of saints, the first of them being the Blessed Virgin Mary of whom Jesus Christ was born in his human life. To them also Roman Catholics are invited to give a certain inferior worship or homage called *cult of dulia, and hyperdulia* for the Blessed Virgin Mary : " To the Blessed Virgin is due the cult of hyperdulia and to the other saints reigning with Christ in Heaven the cult of dulia " (same Canon 1255). To the above the same canon adds another paragraph : " To the sacred relics and images, are due *veneration* (therefore no invocation) and a cult relative to the person to which they refer." This distinction between divine cult, dulia cult and relative cult is sufficient to disprove the odious charge sometimes made against Catholics, that they adore saints and images.

The next thing defined by the Code of Canon Law is the distinction between *public and private worship* : " Worship exhibited in the name of the Church, by ministers lawfully appointed for it and through acts established by the Church, is called public ; otherwise it is private." (Canon 1256).

For its public worship, the Church has authorised a *variety of liturgies* or rites which differ in language and minor ceremonies but reproduce on the whole

the same fundamental ideas of adoration, thanks-giving, propitiation and deprecation, as well as the same sacraments in their essential constituents. The most important of these rites or liturgies by reason of its extension and its noble simplicity is the Latin or Roman Rite; it is the one used by the Catholics throughout India, except the Syro-Malabar community which has a rite of its own in the Syriac language.

By far the most important, indeed the *essential act of public worship* is the celebration of Holy Mass (ಶಿವಲಿಪಿ ಪ್ರಕಾರ, ದಿವ್ಯ ಭೋಜನ). The essential part of it is what is called Consecration, namely the part in which the priest repeats the words pronounced by Jesus Christ at his last supper on bread and wine. This is how the Gospels record them: "Whilst they were at supper (on the previous evening to the Crucifixion of Jesus) Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke, and gave to his disciples, and said: take ye and eat, for this is my body. And taking the chalice, he gave thanks and gave to them saying: drink ye all of this, for this is the chalice of my blood of the new and eternal testament, the mystery of faith, which shall be shed for you and for many unto the remission of sins. As often as ye shall do these things, ye shall do them in memory of me." These are the words used by priests in all Catholic liturgies. As these words are said to produce what they mean, bread and wine so consecrated are believed to be changed (in their substance, without change in their external qualities) into the body and blood of Jesus Christ; and the body and blood of Jesus Christ are believed to remain under their sacred species of bread and wine as long as these species are not corrupted or otherwise do not cease to be, in their appearance, species of bread and wine: Such is the great Catholic dogma of the presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist.



CONVOCAION OF THE BISHOPS AT BANGALORE.

In celebrating it priests are believed to make present on the altar the body and blood of Jesus Christ as they were separated at his Crucifixion on the Calvary, so that Holy Mass constitutes a true though veiled sacrifice. By the same act the priests are believed also to make a permanent sacrament which the faithful will take according to the rules of the Church. In fact, we have seen already that a commandment of the Church is that the faithful should assist at Holy Mass on all Sundays of the year and on certain feasts, also that they should receive Holy Communion (திவ்விய உற்சவங்கள், உண்மை, உற்பரிசுதம், உத்ப்ருசாதி) at least once in the year, during the Easter time if possible. But they are exhorted not to keep to that obligatory minimum but to assist at Holy Mass, to visit the Blessed Sacrament kept in churches and to receive Holy Communion frequently and even every day, if possible (Canons 863 and 1273). Many Catholics are accustomed to do so, as may be easily witnessed on entering a Church on any day during Mass. As to priests, they are bound to celebrate whenever their office requires it, and are exhorted to celebrate every day to show good example to the faithful. Whenever a Priest intends celebrating and a faithful intends receiving Holy Communion, there is on them the obligation not to take any food or drink from midnight till after Holy Communion (Canons 808 and 858). From the above it is evident that Consecration and Holy Communion constitute the two most important acts in the celebration of Holy Mass. But before Consecration, between Consecration and Communion, and after Communion there are other prayers and actions, the aim of which is to excite in the soul proper dispositions and to offer to God adoration, thanksgiving, repentance of sin and similar duties.

Besides the celebration of Mass with the assistance of the faithful to it, *other secondary devotions* are

practised, mostly directed at the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament which is preserved on the main altar of the parochial churches in an artistic and adorned box called Tabernacle. But devotions may be directed also to saints, for according to the Code of Canon Law "it is good and useful to invoke the intercession of the servants of God who reign with Christ and to venerate their relics and images but above them all to have a filial devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary." (Canon 1276).

Regarding *private cult* the faithful are left free to adopt any practice which they like provided that these practices are expressing proper sentiments to God and the saints, and according to the Code of Canon Law, "do not contain any superstition, or anything contrary to faith or ecclesiastical tradition, or anything which would savour of sordid money-making." (Canon 1261). As prayer however is not only a counsel but a divine precept: "watch ye and pray that ye enter not into temptation" (Mat. XXVI, 41). "We ought always to pray and not to faint." (Luke XVIII, 1), the faithful are exhorted to pray frequently. This is why good Catholics have adopted the practice of saying prayers when rising up in the morning and going to bed at night, also before and after meals, or before and after work, and in honour of the Blessed Virgin of reciting on bended knees three times a day the prayer called "the Angelus." But of all prayers the one most frequently used is the Lord's prayer, which was taught to the Apostles by Jesus Christ himself: "Our father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy Kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen." As to priests, they have special prayers

to recite every day ; these obligatory prayers are called "divine office," or "breviary," or "holy hours." This last name has been given to them because there are prayers assigned to different parts of the day. The reciting of these prayers takes as a whole a little more than one hour. They are mostly extracted from Holy Scripture. Besides prayers taken from Holy Scripture, composed by the Church or any holy man, or spoken extempore by the faithful themselves as embodying their needs or sentiments, the faithful may have recourse to a great number of practices approved by the Church which are called "Sacramentals."

According to the Code of Canon Law, *Sacramentals* are "things or actions which in some imitation of the Sacraments are used by the Church to produce by its impetration some salutary effects chiefly of the spiritual order" (Canon 1144). Unlike the Sacraments they were not instituted by Jesus Christ, but only by the Church; also they do not produce sanctifying grace but are meant only for any salutary effect ; lastly they do not produce these effects *ipso facto*, but out of the good dispositions of the faithful and of the commendation, so to say, that the Church adds to it, when it is a practice instituted or officially approved by the Church. It is these sacramentals which have been distorted from their true meaning and are described as magico-religious practices by writers inimical to the Catholic Church or ignorant of its true teachings. Indeed as magical practices among Heathens, these practices aim at getting some salutary effect or at averting some evil or at giving honour to God or the Saints ; but they never call on evil spirits for self-help or harm to the neighbour ; they are always directed to God, the saints or the angels (good spirits created before man's creation). And contrarily to magical practices

also, they do not constitute an art of controlling the course of events or producing their effects, so to say, mechanically ; but they constitute a sort of impetration only and work as prayers by appealing to the feelings of God, the saints or angels.

There exists no official list of these sacramentals ; most of them however can be found in the Roman Ritual and in the Roman Pontifical. Educated Catholics may not relish all the sacramentals for their own use, but they will respect them, for they know that the Church as a kind mother supplies all reasonable needs and demands of its children, even those of the weak and simple. In extending its blessings to every province of nature, the Church constantly reminds its children that the earth is still groaning under the curse of sin and that man's true home is not here below.

Theologians classify the sacramentals under different headings ; for instance, we have the following latin words : *crux*, *nomen*, *orans*, *aqua*, *edens*, *confessus*, *jurans*, *benedicens*, *consecrans*. *Crux* is the sign of the cross formed on one's person or on things. *Nomen* means the holy name of Jesus or some saint called in prayer or written on something for some protection. *Orans* means any prayer actually pronounced by word of mouth, or written on some paper or other material and carried on one's person. *Aqua* alludes to the use of Holy Water, which is water mixed with salt and having received a special blessing of some priest. *Edens* is the eating of food blessed by some priest. *Confessus* is the general avowal of faults made to God in the recitation of a special prayer called "*confiteor*." The avowal of faults made to a priest in view of receiving absolution is part of the sacrament of Penance. *Jurans* means exorcisms, or expelling evil spirit from persons or places by certain prayers and the use of holy water.

Benedicens includes all blessings given by the Pope, a Bishop or a Priest, either transitorily on persons to call God's favours on them, or permanently on various things so as to make them a sort of sacred things, the preservation of which in a reverent manner is believed to bring the favour of God or of the saints. It is chiefly in this way that Catholics have adopted the use of crosses, medals, rosaries (or beads) and other insignia of confraternities or brotherhoods and often carry them about themselves. There are blessings for all sorts of purposes on persons as well as on things. *Consecrans* refers to the setting apart for sacred use and the sanctifying of certain things. It is more solemn than the blessings mentioned above and involves the anointing with the holy oil instead of the use of holy water. All altars on which holy Mass is celebrated and chalices used at Mass are to be consecrated. There is also a very elaborate consecration for Churches, though many minor churches are only blessed. Bells also, used for the call of the faithful to Holy Mass and other services, are consecrated. There are three sorts of holy oils, all blessed by the bishops on Holy Thursday in a very solemn rite : the oil for the sick to be used when the sacrament of extreme unction is given ; the chrism which is a mixture of olive oil with balsam and is to be used in the administration of the sacraments of baptism and confirmation ; and the holy oil simple which is to be used in all other consecrations.

To some devotional practices the Church attaches some satisfactory value called "*indulgence*" (பலன், பாவத்தொடுக்கை மன்னிப்பு). These indulgences do not remit the guilt of sin, which is forgiven by sacraments, but remit the temporal punishment which is due to sin, even after it has been forgiven.

Lastly, with regard to this matter, mention must be made of *pilgrimages and processions*. The most

attended pilgrimage of Catholics in South India is the one dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary at Vellankani near Negapatam. In Mysore State, the pilgrimages in vogue are St. Antony's Church at Dornhally near Yedatore, another St. Anthony's Church at Coromandel, in Kolar Gold Fields; St. Mary's Church of Blackpally in Bangalore Cantonment, and Our Lady of Mount Carmel's Church at Shimoga.

Touching processions, the Roman Liturgy has three chief liturgical processions : one on the feast of the Purification of Mary (2nd Feb.) which is preceded by the blessing of candles and followed by the Mass of the feast ; a second on Palm Sunday (the Sunday before Easter), which is preceded by the blessing of palms and followed by the Mass of that Sunday, the whole being in commemoration of the solemn entry of Jesus into Jerusalem on the first day of the week in which he was to be crucified ; a third, of the Blessed Sacrament, which as far as possible should take place on the feast of Corpus Christi or within the week which follows. But other processions extra-liturgical are also taking place ; they are celebrated usually on the feast day of the saint who is the patron of the parish ; it is then that Catholics use festival cars or canopies (*ಛತ್ರ* or *ಛತ್ರ*) not unlike Hindus, with the statues of the saints specially venerated in their church.

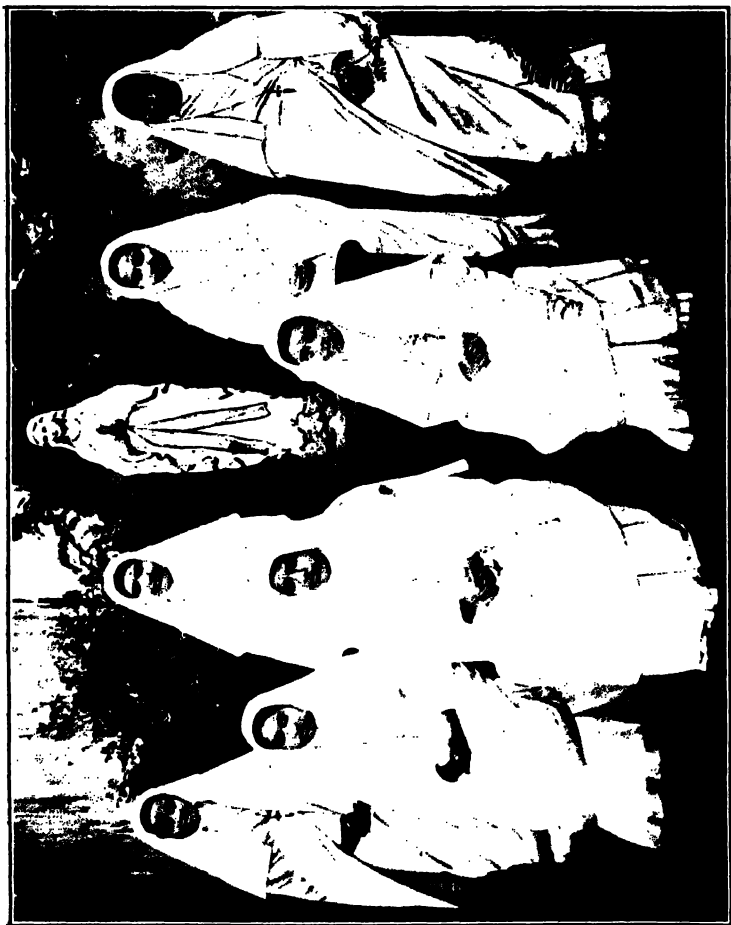
MARRIAGE AND CELIBACY.

Having created the first man and the first woman " God blessed them saying : increase and multiply and fill the earth." (Genesis : I, 28). From the very words used by Genesis we are invited to regard this rather as a blessing than a formal command. But even if these words were embodying a formal command, they would be binding only on the race as a whole and not on each individual member, for its object, which is the propagation of mankind, can be

attained even though many remain unmarried. The New Testament indeed distinctly teaches not only that marriage is not an obligation binding on all, but, that, on the contrary, *celibacy and virginity* are more excellent when they are observed for motives including no selfishness, specially for devoting oneself wholly to the service of God. Such was the teaching of Jesus Christ who to a remark of the Apostles about the disadvantages of the married state said: "All men take not this word (gift of living singly and chastely) but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs who were born so from their mother's womb (physical impotency); and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven (not by physical mutilation, but by moral restraint). He that can take, let him take it." (Mat. XIX, 11-12). St. Paul teaches the same in the famous VII chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, and for it he gives the following reason: "I would have you to be without solicitude. He that is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord: how he may please God. But he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife; and he is divided. And the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit. But she that is married thinketh on the things of the world how she may please her husband." (1 Cor. VII, 32-34.) It is for these reasons that the Council of Trent (1545-1563. A. D.) pronounced anathema against all who say "that the married state is to be placed above the state of virginity or celibacy and that it is not better and more blessed to remain in virginity or in celibacy than to be united in matrimony." (Sess. XXIV Can. 10.) We must observe however that it is the states and not the persons that are contrasted here and that

preference to celibacy does not imply any disrespect for marriage ; indeed a good mother who brings up her children in the fear of God may lead a more meritorious life than an indifferent nun, and a good father may be holier in the sight of God than an indifferent priest or monk. Anyhow this teaching about the spiritual advantage of celibacy and virginity over the married state has given to the Roman Catholic Church a devoted army of priests, monks and nuns, which permits the Catholic Church to supply abundantly to all the needs of its members in all sorts of works of education and charity.

Marriage however is not disparaged by the Roman Catholic Church. The fact that God himself created two different sexes and blessed the first parents of the human race shows that it is a divine institution and Jesus Christ hallowed it further when he participated in the wedding feast at Cana in Galilee and raised marriage to the dignity of a sacrament in taking it as the symbol of the indivisible union which exists between him and the Church. "Husbands, love your wives as Christ loved the church and delivered himself up for it. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife and they shall be two in one flesh. This is a great sacrament. But I say so in reference to Christ and the Church." (Eph. V, 25-32). Except for this elevation of matrimony to the dignity of a sacrament, the New Testament does not profess any new law or theory of marriage. It defines only more clearly and fully what was implied in the original institution of it by God, and exhorts the faithful to a careful observance of the principles involved therein. The Code of Canon law expresses well the twofold object of marriage : the primary end of marriage is the begetting and rearing of the offspring ; the secondary one is affording mutual help and serving as a remedy to



ROMAN CATHOLIC NUNS.

concupiscence (*i.e.*, regulating of the sexual instinct in accordance with the dictates of reason Can. 1013, §1.) This is but the doctrine taught in Holy Scripture: "Increase and multiply" (Genesis 1, 28); "It is not good for man to be alone; let us make him a help like unto himself," (words of God before Eve's creation in Genesis, II, 18). "For fear of fornication let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband." (1 Cor. VII, 2). From these objects are easily deduced the obligations of the married people: not only they should render conjugal rights to each other, but they should do nothing unlawful that could prevent the conception of children, they should take good care of them in their bodily and spiritual welfare, they should avoid all sins contrary to the fidelity they owe to each other, and in order to fulfil properly all these duties they should have mutual love, so as to imitate the love which exists between Christ and his Church. This last idea indeed has been of the most practical import for Christian thought and Christian life.

Regarding this subject the Code of Canon Law, reproducing the teaching of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, declares thus: "The essential properties of marriage are unity and indissolubility, which properties in a Christian marriage have a peculiar firmness because of its sacramental character." (Canon 1013, § 2). The unity of marriage consists in this that a man has only one wife and a woman only one husband at the same time. This is called monogamy and repudiates simultaneous polygamy or polyandry but not the plurality of husbands or wives in succession. If in India many Catholic families do not give in remarriage even young widows, it is owing to a prejudice that they have inherited from their original caste, and not because of the teaching of the Church,

THE PROPERTIES OF
MARRIAGE :
UNITY AND
INDISSOLUBILITY.

for St. Paul teaches explicitly that "a woman is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth ; but if her husband die, she is at liberty. Let her marry to whom she will : only in the Lord." (1 Cor. VII, 39). But polygamy proper, *i.e.*, having several wives (*a fortiori* on the part of a woman several husbands) at the same time cannot be since the time of Jesus Christ a valid marriage. It is a well proved fact that polyandry does not favour but even frustrates the begetting of children, and for this reason the Church has always considered it as a crime against the law of nature. Polygamy (plurality of wives) is not opposed to the primary end of marriage and for this reason was tolerated in the Old Testament to a certain extent. But Christ restored monogamy as the rule established by God from the time of the Creation: "Have you not read that he who made man from the beginning made them male and female?" (Mat. XIX, 4). He did it of course the better to protect the secondary aim of marriage, for the plurality of simultaneous wives is not conducive to domestic peace and happiness, nor to the proper control of concupiscence, moreover it would destroy the symbol of the mystic union of Christ with his Church, which has permitted matrimony to become a sacrament. We have seen that on the question of the unity of the marriage the Old Testament tolerated a certain amount of polygamy. Similarly on the questions of the indissolubility of marriage the law of Moses permitted a husband who found his wife with "some uncleanness" to "write a bill of divorce and send her out of his house." (Deuteronomy XXIV, 1.). But when this law was alleged by the Pharisees, Jesus said that "from the beginning it was not so," (Mat XIX, 8) and throughout his teaching he preached the indissolubility of marriage. "What God hath joined together, let no

man put asunder.” (Mat. XIX, 6). He explained the concession of Moses as having been given “because of the hardness of the hearts of the Jews.” (Mat. XIX, 8.) In this way, Jesus Christ did for the indissolubility of marriage what he did for its unity, namely revoking the Jewish concessions and reinstating the primitive law of God, and this for the sake of the secondary aim of marriage. Experience indeed teaches that divorce entails serious moral and social disorders ; while the belief in the indissolubility of marriage forces young people to a careful choice of partners for life, provides an excellent incentive to a truly moral union, and when disagreement happens, helps greatly the married couple to reconcile and to restrain egoism and undue craving for liberty.

Against the above teaching of absolute indissolubility of marriage, some non-catholics are alleging a saying of Jesus Christ reported twice by St. Matthew: “ whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication. . . .

(1st text) makes her to commit adultery ;

(2nd text) and shall marry another, commits adultery ;

and he that shall marry her that is put away committeth adultery” (Mat. V. 32 ; XIX 9). In these texts they pretend finding an exception to the indissolubility of marriage and therefore an allowance of true divorce and remarriage ; for they say that St. Matthew gives here a fuller expression of the Lord’s mind than the brief passage of the other gospels (Mark, X, 11-12 ; Luk. XVI, 18). Some even add that the innocent partner may remarry not only in case of adultery by the other partner, but also when his conduct renders the restoration of affection morally impossible. Catholic theologians however do not admit that Jesus Christ sanctioned true divorce in such cases ;

they say that the restriction "except it be fornication" refers to the first part of the sentence which speaks of the dismissal of a wife from the house, and not to the second part of the sentence which speaks of a remarriage, so that Jesus means to say that to put away an adulterous wife is no sin, but to marry another is always adultery; indeed if a man were to put away his innocent wife and marry another, he would be guilty of adultery and responsible also for the adultery that his dismissed wife might commit. The dismissal therefore here alluded to by Christ is not true divorce but merely a separation from board and bed (*a mensa et thoro*). In fact it is what the apostles understood, for they remarked to Jesus: "If the case of a man with his wife be so, it is not expedient to marry" (Mat. XIX, 10), that is, if a man may not put away his wife for adultery and remarry, it is better not to marry at all. Anyhow it is the Catholic belief that marriage validly contracted cannot be dissolved by the contracting parties, nor by any humanly constituted authority: it is what is called intrinsic indissolubility.

As marriage has received, so to say, its constitution from God, the question however arises: Can marriage be dissolved by a divinely constituted authority? The Catholic answer is: yes, in three sorts of exceptional cases: (a) marriages contracted among non-baptized persons can be dissolved by virtue of the Pauline privilege; (b) an unconsummated marriage between Christians is dissolved by the solemn profession in a religious order of one of the two parties; (c) an unconsummated marriage between Christians can be dissolved by the Pope for important reasons.

The "Pauline privilege" or "Casus Apostoli" is thus acknowledged by the Code of Canon law: "A legitimate marriage between non-baptized persons, even though consummated, may be dissolved in

favour of faith by virtue of the Pauline privilege " (Canon 1120). This privilege is promulgated in 1 Cor. VII, 12-16. Having stated that by the command of the Lord marriage was perfectly indissoluble when contracted between Christians, St. Paul adds : " but to the rest (those who have married before being baptized) it is I who speak not the Lord : if any brother hath an unbelieving wife, and she is content to live with him, let him not put her away ; and the wife that hath an unbelieving husband, who is content to live with her, let her not put away her husband ; for the unbelieving husband is sanctified in the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified in the brother (Christian husband) else your children were unclean, whereas now they are holy. But if the unbeliever depart, let him depart ; the brother or the sister (the baptized husband or the baptized wife) is under no bondage in such cases, but God hath called you into peace ; for how knowest thou, O wife, but what thou shalt save (convert) thy husband ? or how knowest thou, O husband, but what thou shalt save thy wife ? " (Westminster version). St. Paul in this passage, not because he has an explicit saying of the Lord but out of his apostolic authority and guided by the Holy Ghost, concedes to a new convert to dissolve under certain conditions his marriage contracted before Baptism and to contract a new marriage with a Christian. This is evident from the two distinct parts he has in that passage. Civil legislation and some protestant sects may not acknowledge this privilege, but the fact that it exists in the above passage of St. Paul cannot be denied. By this privilege the new convert has not his previous marriage dissolved by Captism, but by Captism he acquires a right that the unconverted party must do nothing to injure his faith, otherwise the baptized party may contract a new marriage with a Christian

and this new marriage dissolves *ipso facto* the previous one. However the Church to prevent any rash use of this privilege has enacted several canons (1120-1127). The chief one is that the new marriage will not take place before it has been ascertained at least summarily and extra-judicially by interpellation that the unconverted party is unwilling to become a Christian or at least to cohabit peacefully without injury to the Creator.

As to marriages between baptized people, it will be enough if we say that a consummated marriage is both intrinsically and extrinsically indissoluble; but that an unconsummated marriage is dissolved *ipso facto* by the solemn profession of one party in a religious order, or may be dissolved by a special dispensation from the Pope for important reasons. These two cases of extraordinary and extrinsical dissolution are not expressly taught in Holy Scripture, but they are part of the unerring belief of the Church: it is based on the fact that a Christian marriage, so long as it is not consummated, does not yet fully symbolize the union of Christ with the Church and therefore has not acquired all its firmness. A condition for the fulfilment of their matrimonial duties is, according to the Code of Canon Law, "that married people live together unless some just cause excuse them from it." (Canon 1128). This is indeed a law of nature, and for a husband or wife to live apart from the other without sufficient reasons is a grievous fault. We have not to go into the detail of all the cases in which husband and wife are excused from living together. One however must be mentioned; it is when common life becomes intolerable or dangerous to one party by the fault of the other. In such a case the Church does not allow strict divorce as said above, but solves the difficulty by allowing mere separation either temporary or permanent. It

is this which is called sometimes "*divortium a mensa et thoro*" in contradistinction to divorce proper called "*divortium a vinculo*." The reasons acknowledged by the Code of Canon Law as sufficient for such separation are chiefly: if a partner commits adultery, joins a non-Catholic sect, does not rear the children in the Catholic faith, leads a criminal life, puts the other party in peril of losing life or soul, renders common life intolerable by serious ill-treatment, and so forth. (Canon 1129 and 1131).

Marriage being so important for the welfare both of the human race and of each person that intends marrying, it was quite natural that the Church should not allow all kinds of marriages: indeed by the law of nature already some marriages are prohibited as *v.g.* marriage of the impotent or marriage contracted under great error or violence; positive divine law forbids also, as we have seen, any marriage contrary to the unity or indissolubility of marriage. In course of time, the Church has introduced a few prohibitions of its own to promote some special good. Such is the origin of the Church's doctrine of Matrimonial impediments. They are of two kinds: diriment or merely impeding.

MATRIMONIAL
IMPEDIMENTS.

They are those which not only forbid certain marriages, but make any marriage attempted against the prohibition null and void from the first. The list of these nullifying impediments, as they are in the Code of Canon Law, is as follows:—

DIRIMENT
IMPEDIMENTS.

1. Under age: no male who has not completed his sixteenth year of age, and no female who has not completed her fourteenth year of age, can marry validly (Canon 1067).

2. Impotence: impotence which is antecedent (to attempted marriage) and permanent, in the male or in the female, known to the other party or not, absolute or relative, invalidates marriage

by law of nature. Sterility however is not to be included in the above as a form of impotence (Canon 1068).

3. Previous marriage : after a valid marriage no party can marry validly again during the life-time of the other party even if the previous marriage has not been consummated (Canon 1069).

4. Disparity of worship ; no Catholic by birth or by conversion can marry validly an unbaptized person (C. 1070). From this point of view Catholics may be said to be endogamous. We shall see further on how this impediment may be removed by dispensation and under what conditions.

5. Sacred orders ; clerics in major orders cannot marry validly. (Canon 1072).

6. Religious vows ; religious (monks or nuns) with solemn vows or equiparated simple vows cannot marry validly (C. 1073).

7. Abduction : no marriage can be validly contracted between a woman who was abducted and the man who abducted her for the purpose of marriage, as long as the woman remains in the power of the man (C. 1074).

8. Crime of adultery and conjugicidium : no marriage can be validly contracted between a man and woman ; (a) who, one of them being already married, committed between themselves adultery with the promise to marry each other, or attempted civil marriage ; (b) who, one of them at least being already married, committed between themselves adultery and one of them killed his or her lawful previous spouse ; (c) who, one of them at least being already married, co-operated physically or morally in bringing about the death of first husband or wife, even though they did not commit adultery. (Canon 1075).

9. Consanguinity or blood relationship : no marriage can be validly contracted between persons that are related by blood in any degree of the ascending and descending direct line, or within the 3rd degree inclusively of the collateral line. (Can. 1076). From this point of view the Catholics are rather exogamous. However dispensation can be given for good reasons, except when the parties are related in the direct line and in the first degree of the collateral line. Catholics who come originally from Sūdra Castes are indeed often applying for such dispensations.

10. Affinity or relationship by marriage : affinity constitutes a diriment impediment to marriage in all degrees of the direct line, and up to the 2nd degree inclusive of the collateral line. (Canon 1077).

11. Public decorum ; when any person has married invalidly or has lived publicly or notoriously in concubinage, that person cannot marry validly the blood relations of the other person with whom marriage or concubinage has been held, if the blood relationship is within the 2nd degree inclusive of the direct line (Canon 1078).

12. Spiritual relationship ; no baptized person can marry validly the one who has baptized him or her, nor the one who has stood God-father or God-mother to his or her baptism. (C. 1029).

13. Legal adoption ; legal adoption constitutes a canonical diriment impediment to marriage in countries where the civil law recognises it as a cause of nullity of marriage. (C. 1080.)

Impeding impediments are those which prohibit certain marriages under pain of grave sin, yet do not render them invalid if they are contracted in spite of the prohibition. The chief impeding impediments are : simple vow of virginity, of perfect chastity, of celibacy, of receiving sacred orders or of embracing the religious state ; legal adoption in countries where the Civil law renders such marriages illicit ; notorious rejection of the Catholic faith ; public sinful life ; and mixed religion, that is, a Catholic party intending marriage with a party who, though baptized, happens to be heretic or schismatic (Canons 1058-1066).

IMPEDING
IMPEDIMENTS.

Diriment impediments and *a fortiori* impeding impediments, when they are of ecclesiastical origin, can be removed by dispensation, if there are sufficient reasons for it. This power of dispensation is reserved to the Pope ; but in far off countries as India, the Pope communicates his powers to the Bishops, and Bishops communicate most of their powers to Parish Priests, reserving to themselves, only the greater ones which deserve greater consideration before dispensation can be granted. There are however the diriment impediment of disparity of worship (a Catholic intending marriage with an

unbaptised person), and the impeding impediment of mixed religion (a Catholic intending marriage with a non-Catholic Christian) to which dispensation is not granted, unless the parties agree to the following conditions: that the non-Catholic party will not trouble in any way the Catholic partner about his Catholic faith; that both take upon themselves to see that all the children of the marriage will be baptized and brought up in the Roman Catholic Faith; that no religious celebration of marriage shall take place elsewhere than in the Roman Catholic Church. As far as possible this should be by a written document (Canons 1061-1063 and 1071).

**MARRIAGE AS
CONTRACT
AND AS
SACRAMENT.**

A constant sentiment among all nations as a whole is that the propagation of the race was not left by the Creator to haphazard connections between men and women, nor to companionship formed and dissolved at will; in such systems the woman and the child would be great losers. For this reason, the Creator decided that human propagation should be done by a regular contract between a man and woman, and gave to this contract its two great properties of unity and indissolubility, which we have already explained. When Jesus Christ came to this world, he added a further dignity to this contract already sacred by its divine institution, though natural in its purpose, namely: that among the faithful this contract should be at the same time a Sacrament, so as to be a source of Grace and Virtue. This is the origin of the power that the Church has over Christian marriages, namely to lay down the conditions requisite for the validity and licitness of marriages and to legislate on the respective rights and duties of the married people. As to the State, Catholic theology admits that its rulers are not without powers over marriages: a wide field is open to their jurisdiction in regulating the

marriages of unbaptized persons and exercising a certain control over the civil effects of the marriages of Christians. This jurisdiction is, however, subject to two limitations : (a) that the State cannot do anything which would be contrary to the primitive law as it was determined by God ; (b) that with regard to Christian marriages the State must limit itself to regulations on the civil consequences of marriage as property, dowry, inheritance, etc., for Christian marriage, being a sacrament, belongs exclusively to the jurisdiction of the Church.

In accordance with the above doctrine, the Roman Catholic Church has introduced into the Code of Canon Law two very important chapters : one on the matrimonial consent (Canons 1081-1093) and another on the form of celebrating marriages (Canons 1094-1103).

The act by which marriage is performed both as contract and as sacrament is the mutual consent given externally and according to law by parties that are not deprived of this right by law. And the Canon Law adds that no human authority can supply its deficiency. This consent must be an act of the will by which both parties give and accept for ever and exclusively mutual right over their bodies for the performance of those acts that are destined to procreate. However that this consent may constitute a valid marriage, it must be devoid of certain defects, which, when they exist, render the consent and the marriage null and void. These defects are four : (1) If one or both contracting parties are ignorant that marriage is a permanent society between man and woman for the procreation of children. (2) If there is error as to the person or to a personal quality equivalent to an error of person. (3) If external consent is only simulated and the real internal will of one or both parties is to exclude marriage itself or all right to conjugal act or one of the essential properties of marriage.

(4) If somebody has used unjust violence or coercion so great that one or both of the marrying parties could not act otherwise than yielding to the celebration of marriage. But as in other contracts, matrimonial consent may be given by any sufficient outward sign, by proxy, by interpreter and with conditions, provided that these conditions are not contrary to the nature of marriage.

The above requisite is but what the natural law imposes for a valid marriage and holds good for any marriage whether of Christians or of non-Christians. But for marriages in which at least one party is a Roman Catholic by birth or by conversion, the Church has laid down a further requisite, namely, that such marriages to be valid must be contracted before the Parish Priest or the Bishop of the place where the marriage is contracted (or before a Priest delegated for it by one of them) and two witnesses, and provided that the presence of the Priest or Bishop has not been obtained by violence or grave threat. This requisite has been imposed by the Church not because the Priest or the Bishop has to act as Minister of the sacrament, for the Church holds that in the sacrament of matrimony the contracting parties are at the same time ministers and recipients of the sacrament; but because at such an important contract and sacrament the Church wishes to have an official representative, who at the same time will be the minister of the blessings with which the Church surrounds marriage. There are however two sorts of cases when the Church dispenses from this official representative and requires only two witnesses: (a) in peril of death when the Parish Priest, the Bishop or a delegated Priest cannot be had without great inconvenience; (b) outside the peril of death when circumstances are such that it can be foreseen with moral certitude that it will be very difficult to have

the Parish Priest, the Bishop, or a delegated Priest for the space of one month. The other requisites imposed by the Church are touching only the licitness and not the validity of the marriage.

Roman Catholics are allowed by their Church to follow the customs of their original caste. But they should add to them the observances that are enjoined by the Church, and avoid all practices that are considered as superstitious. The question whether certain observances of the South India people were merely national or also superstitious gave rise in the 17th and 18th centuries to a great controversy among theologians and authorities of the Roman Catholic Church. It is known as the question of the Malabar Rites, the word Malabar meaning here, according to the usage followed by the Europeans of those times, the countries on the eastern coast of Coromandel from the South to the Karnatic and Mysore. The chief official documents concerning this question are : a decree of Gregory XV, dated 31st January 1623, a decree of Cardinal de Tournon, dated 23rd June 1704, a decree of Benedict XIII, dated 12th December 1727, a decree of Clement XII, dated 24th August 1734, a decree of Benedict XIV, dated 12th September 1744, and lastly an instruction of the Congregation of Propaganda to the Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry (having then jurisdiction over Mysore) dated 15th February 1792. The Chief prohibitions given in those documents with regard to our present subject are : the celebration of a feast when a girl has her first " menses " : if any celebration is desired, it should be done not under the name of menstruation but under the name of nubility and in it should be avoided all sacrifices and superstitious rites : consultation of astrologers to fix the day and hour regarded as propitious for the settling and

PREPARA-
TIONS TO
MARRIAGE :
BETROTHAL
AND BANNS.

celebration of marriage;—trying to find the character of the boy or girl from their “Suli,” or by breaking cocoanuts, or by any such vain means.

Marriages are usually arranged by parents. When a young man approaches or has reached the marriageable age, his parents look out for a suitable girl; and after such a one has been selected, the service of an intermediary is employed to ascertain the sentiments of the girl’s parents regarding the proposal of marriage. In the event of their willingness, a day is selected when the father and maternal uncle of the young man and one or two of his nearest relatives go to the girl’s house to talk over the matter formally and arrive at a definite settlement. A written promise by the bride’s father to give his daughter in marriage to the young man selected and a similar promise by the bride-groom’s father to accept her are then made. Sometimes a day is fixed to bring about an interview between the bride and the bridegroom and celebrate their betrothal. This betrothal, to constitute an official promise acknowledged by the Church, must be recorded in writing, signed by both bride and bridegroom and countersigned by two witnesses, or the parish priest or the Bishop. Even then, this promise does not give the right to enforce the marriage by all means, if a party changed his mind; it gives only the right to claim compensation for the damages which the breaking of the promise may cause. At this occasion also the day for the celebration of the wedding is fixed. After this the bride and the bridegroom along with their paternal or maternal uncle or some of their nearest relatives go to the bride’s parish priest (in some cases to the bridegroom’s parish priest) and announce to him their intention of marriage.

The priest then ascertains whether the bride and bridegroom are really consenting to the marriage,



A ROMAN CATHOLIC BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM.

enquires whether there is not some impediment between them, also whether they are sufficiently instructed in their religion. If everything is satisfactory, he agrees to the marriage and soon informs the parish priest of the bridegroom, if this belongs to another priest. Then in the churches of the bride and bridegroom, during the celebration of the Mass on three successive Sundays or Feasts of obligation is read a notice of the intended marriage: this is called the banns. The aim of it is to give opportunity to the faithful to declare to the priest any impediment or any objection which might exist against the marriage.

Marriage can be contracted on all days of the year ; but the solemn nuptial blessing which is to be given during Mass is forbidden at two periods of the year : from the first Sunday of Advent till the feast of Christmas inclusive and from Ash Wednesday till Easter Sunday inclusive, unless for serious reason the Bishop permits it in a given case. As much as possible marriage should not be celebrated until three days have elapsed from the last publication of banns. It is also the desire of the Church that the parties go to confession before marriage and receive holy communion before or on the day of marriage.

SOLEMNIZA-
TION OF
MARRIAGE.

The ritual ceremony of marriage is remarkably simple. On the wedding day the bride and bridegroom well dressed and adorned, and accompanied by their relatives and friends go to the church. The bride and bridegroom are then made to kneel before the altar rail, while the chosen two witnesses stand on both sides or behind them. Then the priest, dressed in the Mass vestments if Mass is to follow, or in surplice and stole if Mass is not to be celebrated, comes on the other side of the rail and facing the bride and bridegroom proceeds at once with the interrogations. Addressing

the bridegroom he says : “ N. N. wilt thou take N. N. here present for thy lawful wife according to the rite of our Holy Mother the Church ? ” The Bridegroom answers : “ I will.” Then addressing the bride the priest says, “ N. N., wilt thou take N. N. here present for thy lawful husband according to the rite of our Holy Mother the Church ? ” The bride answers : “ I will.” The priest then requests both to join their right hands and sprinkles them with holy water, saying at the same time : “ I join you, you together in matrimony in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen.” By the above interrogations and answers the true wedding has been performed and by the blessing of the priest the Church has notified the sacred engagement. Next comes the blessing of the *tāli* (or ring according to caste, the ring not being common among Indians). This is presented on a tray among garlands of flowers. The priest recites over it the following prayers : “ Bless O, Lord, this *tāli* (or this ring) which we bless in Thy name, that she, who will wear it, remaining entirely faithful to her husband, may stand always in Thy peace and will, and live always in mutual love with Thee, through Christ our Lord. Amen.” Then he sprinkles holy water on the *tāli* ; and giving it to the bridegroom he requests him to tie it round the neck of his bride, while the priest says : “ In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen.” Next the priest adds some minor prayers and ends by the following one : “ Look down, we beseech Thee, O, Lord, on these, Thine servants, and graciously further this Thine institution, which Thou hast ordained for the increase of mankind ; that what is joined together by Thine authority may be kept together by Thy help, through Christ our Lord. Amen.” This ends the celebration of the marriage, which is then to be entered in the Marriage register

with the signatures of the bride and the bridegroom, of the two witnesses and of the officiating priest. Then the whole bridal party goes home unless there is to be the nuptial Mass. For this there is a special Mass, called "*pro sponso et sponsa*" which is composed of extracts from holy Scripture containing beautiful instructions on matrimony, specially the Epistle, which is Eph. V. 22-23, and the Gospel, which is Mat. XIX, 3-6. During this Mass three special prayers are said for the wedded party, two, some time after the consecration and one, some time after the holy communion. This last one is as follows: "May the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob be with you, and may He fulfil His blessing in you that you may see your children's children even to the third and fourth generation, and afterwards possess life everlasting, by the assistance of our Lord Jesus Christ who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth God, world without end. Amen." These prayers are said by the priest turning round from the Altar and facing the wedded party. The nuptial Mass however and the nuptial blessing are to be omitted, if one of the wedded party is not Catholic.

When the bridal party goes home, they do so as solemnly as they can afford and according to the custom of their caste. Then begin at home those social ceremonies which the Catholics call "*lōka kalyāna*." In these they do not differ much from their Hindu brethren, excepting the practices which they have abandoned as being regarded by the Church as superstitious. Their *tālī* must not have any Hindu image but only a cross or some other Christian sign. Like Hindus they are allowed to erect a *pandal* in front of the house and to decorate it as well as they can; but among the pillars of the *pandal* they must not observe the practices of the "*arasānikāl*,"

though the central pillar may be specially decorated and provided with a cross or some Christian image. Like Hindus they are allowed to have a dais with canopy for the bride and bridegroom, but must avoid any superstitious usage in its erection and during the marriage celebrations.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY.

The Church has rendered great service by the precise recognition of the social import of marriage by having sanctified and imposed duties that cannot be evaded by those who contract its duties towards each other, duties towards their children, duties towards society. Marriage is regarded as a sacrament in the interest of the reproduction of the race. The Church earnestly enjoins on husband and wife, the duty of attachment, of mutual fidelity, of mutual love, the duty of bearing one another's faults with patience, of bringing up their children in such a manner that the latter shall grow up in their turn good soldiers of Christ and good citizens.

The Christian doctrine relating to marriage affords a good example of the union of the two ideas of equality and inequality said to be characteristic of the social teaching of Christianity in general. The wife is to be subject to the husband; is to obey the husband; and yet the husband and wife are absolutely equal before the moral law. The social inequalities which prevail in this world are necessarily reflected in the family which is the nucleus of society. Husband and wife are not equal in the eyes of the social law, because the social value of the work performed by each is different, and to the difference in social value of their respective labour must be added the physiological disparity between the two. The husband is the head of the family in virtue of a natural law, which applies to every species, because he is stronger, and it is to him that the duty falls of supporting his

wife and children. The social value of the husband's labour in civilized society is necessarily higher than that of the wife's, because it is the husband's labour that allows the wife in her turn to work and to fulfil her domestic duties. It also contributes to the maintenance and welfare of society as a whole. It is for this reason that St. Paul enjoins on wives the duty of submission to their husbands. Jesus also insists strongly on the duty of the husband, and he is careful to drive home with special force the idea of the real indissoluble unity of husband and wife. If there be one person, the husband must necessarily love his wife and care for her. The notion of the equality of the husband and wife before the moral law strongly safeguards the rights of the latter. St. Peter also gives similar instructions and says : " Ye wives, be in subjection to your husbands ; that if any obey not the word, they may also without the word be won by the conversation of the wives ; while they behold your chaste conversation coupled with fear. Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting hair, and of wearing of gold or of putting on of an apparel, but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of meek and quiet spirit which is in the sight of God of great price. For after this manner in the old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves being in subjection unto their own husbands even as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him Lord ; whose daughters ye are, long as ye do well and are not afraid with any amazement." (1 St. Peter III, 1-6).

Having assured the fulfilment by the husband and wife of their reciprocal duties, Christianity is careful that both fulfil their duties towards their offspring. St. Paul declares that those who neglect their children are worse than infidels ; Jesus insists more than once

on the rights and dignity of children, and specially when he set forth the child-like heart as a necessary condition for entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven : "Except ye repent and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of Heaven." As to those who are guilty of corrupting the innocent and of destroying the faith of one of these little ones, it were better that a millstone were hanged about their neck and they were cast into the sea.

The family is a school in which the individual cannot fail to learn the great ideas of duty, responsibility and what submission and discipline mean. The members of the family are linked together by ties, *sui generis*—ties at once of physiological and psychological nature—which do not exist between the members of any other group, or of any other organization. Hence the supreme importance of enforcing these ties and the family structure without which the family functions cannot be performed. Unless the family be strongly integrated, the individuals composing it will never learn the great and fundamental social duties which family duties alone can inculcate ; the family cannot be integrated, its cohesion and solidarity cannot be assured, unless husband and wife be fully conscious of their common duties and of their responsibilities, and unless they regard them as a solemn stewardship for which they have to render an account to society.

Thus the family is a great school of duty wherein each one learns the meaning of the word responsibility. There is no higher duty than this, no doctrine more eminently adapted to the wife by the condemnation of the husband's unfaithfulness, by the indissolubility of the marriage tie, by its insistence on reciprocal duties towards their children, and its having made of the family a great school of duty and responsibility, a great preparation for social life. Christianity

has proved itself an invaluable factor of social integration and social stability which can only be assured by the integration and stability of the family.

In the doctrine opposed to the Catholic Church, and so greatly in favour to-day, marriage is said to be nothing but a social contract, a simple formality to be gone through before carnal desires are satisfied. In this case, the interests of the two persons contracting marriage are alone considered, without recognition of the many duties imposed by marriage, viz., duties of mutual love and forbearance, mutual patience, mutual sacrifice and of the numerous duties of parents towards their children. The physiological desire having been satisfied, it is found that after a time satiety sets in, and that marriage which has no more stable foundation than a physical basis, is founded upon sand. The family instead of being a school of moral training and discipline becomes a school of discord and anarchy.

When a young woman is to become a mother, no special ceremony is performed for her. But for the first pregnancy at the seventh month she is usually taken to her parents' house, where she remains for three, five, or seven months after the delivery. The guests, maternal or paternal uncle, and sister, who are here, are entertained, and at the time of her departure she is given a few clothes and other necessities. For other pregnancies she remains in her husband's house, but it is usual that her mother should come and help her.

PREGNANCY
AND
CHILDBIRTH.

The newborn baby is bathed in tepid water, and is fed with drops of honey. For reasons of hygiene, in which no religious belief is involved, the women attending on her are considered physically unclean and anoint themselves with cocoanut or gingelly oil, and become purified by a bath in the neighbouring

tank, a stream or a well. It is only after this bath that the women can enter the kitchen or touch any article outside the lying-in-room, or women of other families who go to visit her. On the day following the delivery, the mother is bathed in warm water boiled with medicinal herbs. She is fed with rice during the first few days. The mother is said to be unclean for fifteen days after which she is purified by a bath, and her room is well swept and cleaned. The woman in confinement bathes several times during the first fifteen days and every day thereafter. She is subject to a course of treatment. It is a pious custom, much observed by Catholic mothers, that some days after the birth of a child they present themselves before the parish priest to receive the blessing of the Church and to thank God for their safe delivery. This blessing can only be given to the mother of a child born in lawful wedlock. The mother kneels near the entrance of the Church, holding a lighted candle in her hand. The priest, vested in surplice and white stole, sprinkles her with holy water, after which he recites the psalm 23. He then places the left extremity of the stole in the mother's right hand, and introduces her into the Church, saying: "Enter into the temple of God, and adore the son of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who has given you the fecundity of an offspring." Both then move towards the high altar. Arrived at it the mother releases the stole and kneels at the altar-rail. The priest standing recites then the following prayer: "Almighty and eternal God, who by the childbirth of the Blessed Virgin Mary hast changed into joys the throes of Thy faithful, look graciously on this thine handmaid who has come with joy to Thy temple for thanksgiving; and grant her that after this life she may by the merits and intercession of the Blessed Mary obtain with her offspring the joys of the eternal

beatitude, through Christ our Lord. Amen." Then he sprinkles her with holy water, saying: "Let the peace and blessing of Almighty God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, come down and remain with you for ever. Amen."

As Roman Catholics believe that Baptism is absolutely necessary, children are baptized as soon as they can be brought to the Church with safety. This is done by the sponsors who should be accompanied by the father of the child.

BAPTISM

(தூதர்
ஸ்தானம்,
கூன நூன்.)

The ceremonies are of very ancient origin, some being of Apostolic tradition. The sponsors standing with the child at the door of the Church are asked by the priest vested in surplice and stole, what they desire of the Church of God. On their answer that they desire faith and life everlasting for the child, the priest makes the sign of the cross and recites prayers on the child. After this he blesses salt and puts a little of it in the child's mouth praying that the child may obtain divine wisdom. Then follow some prayers of exorcism. After these the sponsors with the child are taken to the baptismal font where is preserved baptismal water. Here are recited by the sponsors and the priest the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. The priest reads then another exorcism. Taking then a little saliva on his thumb he touches with it the lobes of the ears of the child and its nostrils praying that he may hear the word of God and be always in good odour of holiness. The sponsors are then asked in the name of the child to renounce Satan and its works. This is followed by the anointing with holy oil of the breast and shoulders of the child. Sponsors are again questioned in the name of the child, this time on the faith in God and the desire of baptism. The answer being given, the priest baptizes the child. Taking baptismal water in a

small vessel he pours and rubs it on the forehead of the child, saying at the same time " N., I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The baptism is followed by the anointing of the crown of the head with holy chrism, with this prayer : " Let Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has regenerated thee by the water and the Holy Spirit, and has granted thee the remission of thy sins, anoint thee also with the chrism of salvation into eternal life through the same Christ our Lord.—Amen."

Baptism is the sacrament that cleanses men and women from original sin and makes them children of God. It clothes their souls with the beautiful garment of divine grace, and puts into their hands the bright lamp with which they are to wait for the bridegroom. This is why after the baptismal ablution and the anointing with chrism the priest gives them the emblems of this special grace. He first puts over them the white garment and says : " Receive this white garment, and see thou carry it without stain before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ." Then he puts a burning candle into their hands and says, " Receive this burning light and keep thy baptism so as to be without blame. Keep the commandments of God, that when the Lord shall come to the nuptials, thou mayest meet him in the company of all saints in the heavenly court and have the eternal life, and live for ever and ever."

It is in order to safeguard yet more efficaciously the interest of the child that the Church has instituted " god-parents " or " sponsors," that is to say, persons who are directly responsible before the Church, for the moral and material welfare of the infant persons, who, being, " parents in God," have the duty imposed on them of aiding and assisting the natural parents or of replacing the latter,

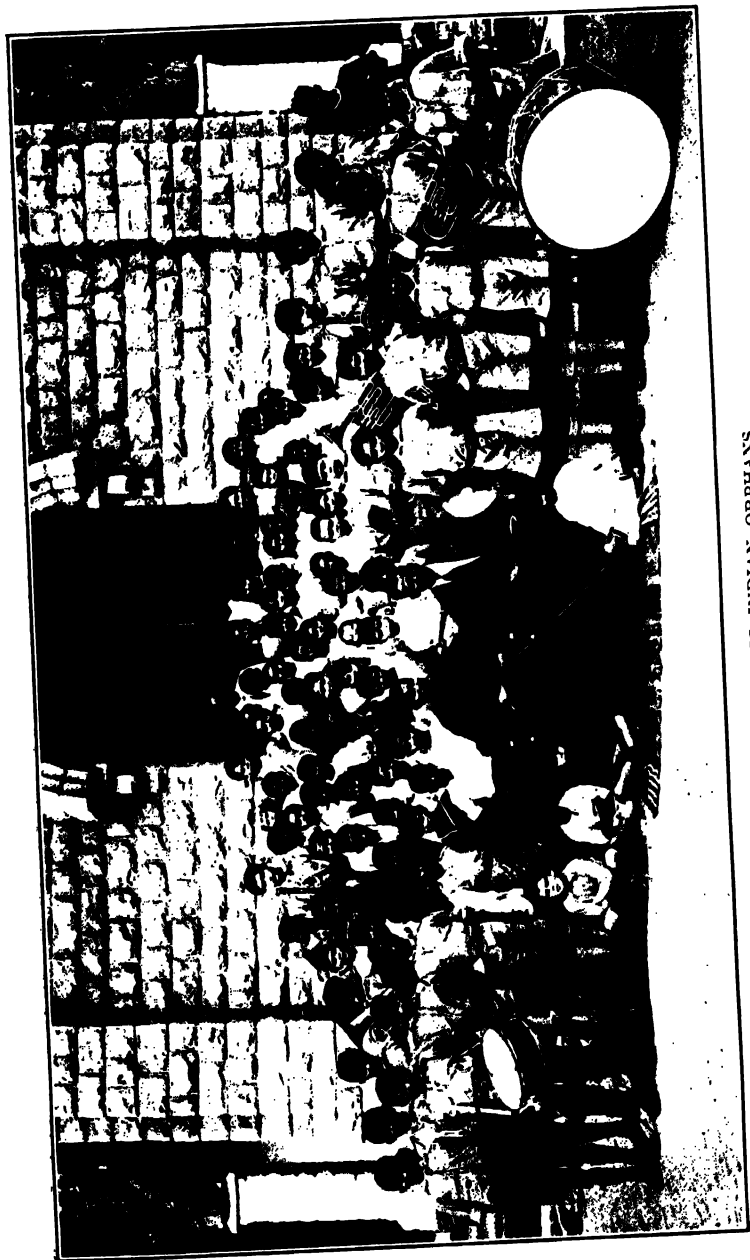
should they neglect their responsibilities. With the decline of faith, the office of god-parent has come to lose all practical meaning. The Roman Catholic Church first of all reminds the god-parent that, as a vigilant guardian of the faith and purity of the child, he shares with its parents the grave responsibilities of its Christian education. He will have, therefore, to see that the child is instructed in time in the truths of religion and its duties as a Christian. He will be careful always to keep and assist it by his advice, his prayers and his good examples. The Church in her maternal solicitude, goes yet further; she entreats him, in the interest of the child, to be careful that it be confided only to a Catholic nurse, whose morals are pure, should its mother be unable to nourish it; and later he will have to see that the child is handed over to the care of Christian teachers and masters. The Church enjoins on him also the duty of taking every precaution so as to preserve the child from all danger and to protect it from all accidents, until it has reached the age at which it can protect itself. He will preserve, before God, safe and sound, pure and innocent, this little child that the holy religion confides to his affection and to his piety. The god-parents are thus what their name implies, the spiritual guardians of the child, responsible for its moral and material welfare. Immense is their responsibility before the moral law, and before God, to whom they will have to render strict accounts of their stewardship. But the responsibility of the god-parents by no means excludes that of the natural parents; the one merely supplements the other. The god-parents are an additional safeguard, the counsellors of the parents, those to whom falls the task of seeing that the parents fulfil their duties. The parents are not allowed to resign their power into

the hands of the god-parents ; paternal responsibility is, on the contrary, a responsibility that can never, under any circumstances whatsoever, be evaded. It is therefore the parents that have to fulfil the paternal duties. Only when the parents prove unworthy of their high and sacred mission, must the god-parents execute the task which should be performed by the parents. It was to prevent the innocent offspring suffering from the effects of parental unworthiness and parental neglect, that the Church appointed god-parents, but parents should not imagine that this institution was created in order to permit them to evade their own responsibilities.

The baby is also named on the day of baptism. It may be given several names or one only, but there must be at least the name of a saint or a name having a Christian significance. But, except this, parents are free to give any name they like, nor is there any custom fixing that a name should be preferred to another.

**CASTES,
OCCUPATIONS
AND OTHER
USAGES.**

The Roman Catholic converts are invariably allowed to keep up their caste status, and the Church authorities seldom interfere with it. In villages the high caste converts live apart from the low caste ones. Even in churches the members are seated in different parts according to the caste status. This has provoked more than one criticism against Christians in general and Catholics in particular. It is not uncommon to hear the saying : "Scratch a Christian and you will find a Hindu." Europeans who have not lived long in the country and who have but a superficial knowledge of the Indian usages and manners are surprised to see that the Church authorities tolerate such distinctions, and warn them to the danger of Christianity being absorbed by



ROMAN CATHOLIC INDIAN ORPHANS.

Hinduism. We must say however the Catholic authorities are not unaware of the disadvantages of caste distinctions and try their best efforts to attenuate them by insisting on Christian charity. As the caste system is fundamentally a system to preserve the purity of the race, to organize labour and to maintain social order, the Catholic Church has preferred to tolerate it according to the spirit of Christ, which is a spirit of peacefulness and the teaching of St. Paul: "As God has called each, so let him continue to walk. Let each abide in the condition wherein the call (=conversion) found him. Wast thou a slave when called? Let it not trouble thee; though if thou canst become free, rather choose that." (1. Cor. VII, 17, 20-21). The Catholic Church is quite ready to help social reformers in destroying all that is evil in the caste, but she cannot take upon herself the odium of europeanizing the faithful by destroying it entirely among them.

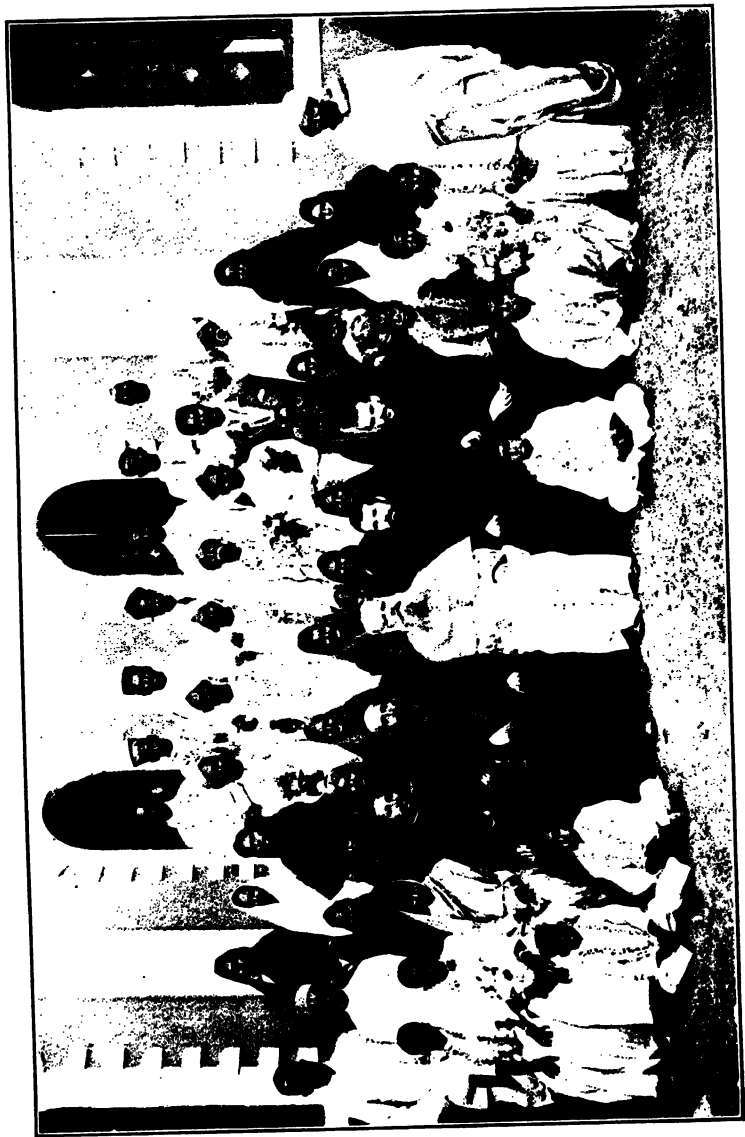
The Church is careful to remind the priests that among their many duties not the least important is that of visiting the sick and of helping them in their spiritual needs. For this purpose there are special prayers and even a special rite to take to the sick the Holy Communion. But it is when sickness becomes serious and death is overshadowing that the Church shows a tender care of her children. As soon as there is danger of death they are invited to make a confession of their sins in order to receive absolution and are given the sacrament of Extreme-Unction; when death draws near they are given also holy Communion under the form of Viaticum, and a special blessing with plenary indulgence in the name of the Pope. Of these "last rites" Extreme-Unction is particularly impressive, when the chief senses of the body are anointed with holy oil specially

FUNERAL
CUSTOMS.

consecrated for this purpose. While anointing the different senses, the priest prays, saying: "By this only Unction and His great mercy let the Lord forgive whatever sin thou hast committed by thy eyes, thy ears, thy nostrils, by taste and word of mouth, by touch, by walking." When the end is imminent, the people of the house are advised to put a blessed candle in the hand of the dying, adjust a crucifix so that he can see it, and kneeling down begin the prayers for the dying.

When death has come, the corpse is well washed and neatly dressed, and information is sent round to the relatives and friends that they may pay their last visit and take part in the funeral procession. Usually the corpse is neatly laid out on a raised platform, lighted candles with a crucifix are placed at the head, the hands of the dead man are joined and placed on its breast with a crucifix and rosary, and towards the feet is kept holy water with which visitors sprinkle the dead body.

For the funeral many Catholic families adopt the European usage of the coffin, but many others also keep to the Indian usage of the shroud to envelop the corpse and the funeral palanquin to carry it. Anyhow when the time for the funeral has come the priest dressed in black vestments comes to the house with cross-bearer and two candle-bearers. At the house he sprinkles the body with holy water and recites the psalm 129. The funeral procession is then formed: the cross bearer with the two candle-bearers are at the head, after them come the singers, then the priest followed by the bier, and after it, relatives and friends. On the way to the Church is sung the psalm 50. At the Church the bier is placed in the centre near the altar rail, and the priest places himself between the rail and the bier. Then are performed those rites, prayers and



ROMAN CATHOLIC CONVERTS.

chants that are called "absolution." When these are over, the funeral procession is resumed, this time to the cemetery. When the cemetery is reached, the body is placed alongside the grave. Should the cemetery not be blessed, the priest first of all blesses the grave. Then he recites or sings the canticle "Benedictus" (Luke I, 68-79) and ends with the following prayers: "Grant, we beseech thee, O Lord, mercy to thy servant (thy handmaid) that he (she) who has desired to do thy will may not for his (her) deeds receive a requital of pains; and as in this world true faith has placed him (her) among thy faithful, let thy mercy associate him (her) in the other world with the angelic choirs, through Christ Our Lord. Amen." Then the body is lowered down in the grave, when all people take a handful of earth and throw it in the grave, the filling up of the grave being left to the sexton. The relatives and friends then return home where they are treated to a modest feast. For children, funeral ceremonies are more or less the same, but the vestments of the priest are white ones and the prayers allude to the resignation we should have to the will of God and to the belief that these pure souls are already in heaven among angels and saints, and that God has spared them the trials of this world.

On the occasion of deaths the Roman Catholics do not think themselves defiled in any way. But they have religious services and prayers for the soul of the dead. The Church has for this purpose special Masses: on the day of burial, the 3rd, 7th, 30th and anniversary days. On these days the faithful besides attending Mass may have some special prayers at the cemetery to which they invite relatives and friends, and give them afterwards a modest feast at home, not unlike their Hindu brethren on the

occasion of the “*śrādhā*” ceremony. The usage of having Masses and prayers for the dead is for Catholics a consequence of their belief in the Communion of Saints. According to it, the faithful of this world and the departed souls already in heaven are but members of the same family under the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Jesus Christ, and therefore can help one another according to the status in which they are ; only the damned are definitively excluded from the kingdom of God.

OCCUPATION. The Roman Catholics are found in all walks of life. The well-to-do members are sufficiently qualified for all appointments in the Government service. Very few are merchants. The poorer are cultivators and some work for daily wages. Agricultural farms with villages have been established at Silvapura in the Nelamangala taluk, Mariapura in the Kankanhalli taluk and Suseypaleyam near Chickballapur : these farms afford work and training to orphans and other destitutes, who afterwards can establish themselves in the villages formed near the farm.

FOOD. The routine dietary of the Roman Catholic converts does not in any way differ from that of the caste to which they once belonged. Restrictions in the quality and quantity of meals based on religion have been explained in the chapter on religion, where are exposed the commandments of the Church (page 11).

DRESS. The dress and ornaments of men as well as women are always the same as those of the castes from which they took their origin.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN.

(Protestant.)

**EARLY HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN MYSORE—
HABITAT—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS, AND CEREMONIES—FAMILY,
INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—POST-
NATAL CEREMONIES—THE HOLY COMMUNION—RELIGION—
METHODISTS' CHURCH—CHRISTIANITY BY CASTE—CHRISTIA-
NITY BY FAITH—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL
STATUS—FOOD—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—
CONCLUSION.**

1. *London Mission.*—The first Protestant Mission to the Canarese people appears to have been established at Bellary by the London Missionary Society. Thence, in 1820 the operations were begun in Bangalore by the two Revs. Laidler and Forbes ; and in 1839 it was extended to Mysore. In 1850 the latter station was given up. From the very outset the activities of the Mission have been directed to public preaching in Bangalore and the neighbouring localities, as also to literary and educational work. The valuable dictionaries Carnataca-English, and English-Carnataca were compiled by the Rev. W. Reeve of this Mission. The same gentlemen jointly with the Revs. Hands and W. Campbell translated the earliest version of the Canarese Bible, for the printing of which the Canarese type was first cast under the direction of Mr. Hands. A new translation was subsequently made in which the Revs. B. Rice and C. Campbell had a large share, and this has been recently revised by a committee composed of missionaries from various Missions. Native female education is especially indebted to the two ladies of this Mission, namely, Mrs. Rice and Mrs. Sewell,

EARLY
HISTORY OF
THE
PROTESTANT
MISSIONS IN
MYSORE.

who in the face of considerable opposition, opened and conducted the first school in the State in 1840. The Christian girls of the Boarding school were, from an early period, taught English and the Vernacular ; and were far in advance of the general standard of the female education of the State. Out of this school has grown a High School for girls started since 1904, for the benefit of the girls of all classes now containing 174 pupils. Of the educational institutions for boys, the chief is the High School in Bangalore established in 1847. It contains about 600 pupils, and educates up to the Entrance Examination of the University. The name of Rev. Slater in this connection is well known.

Revs. Benjamin Rice and Colin Campbell had a prominent share in the later translation of the Bible which was completed in 1859. The revision of the whole Bible was completed in 1924. Rev. Benjamin Rice was the first writer of the modern school books in the Canarese language. He thus prepared the way for the large educational literature that followed. He also edited the earliest periodical in the language, an Anglo-Canarese Magazine entitled *Arunodaya* (1861-67).

The activities of the Mission were in two chief stations, Bangalore and Chickballapur, as also in a number of out-stations with resident evangelists. The schools for boys and girls contained 2000 pupils. Another chief station is at Hosur just outside the limits of the State.

“ For the benefit of the Indian Christian community the Mission has in Bangalore two churches, Canarese and Tamil with Indian pastors, but it is now connected with the South Indian United Church. A boarding home for boys was established in 1825, and maintained since 1877. A similar home for girls was commenced in 1825, and maintained since 1842. A Theological

Seminary for the training of preachers was carried on with one or two intervals from the early years of the Mission till 1910 when it was merged in the United Theological College of South India and Ceylon for which permanent premises were opened in Bangalore in 1913. A union Canarese Seminary of the London and Wesleyan Mission opened in 1916 is located at Tumkur.*

The Wesleyan Mission.—“This Mission commenced its work in 1821 ; but for many years the Missionary activities were among the Tamil people of the Cantonment of Bangalore. The Canarese Mission was established in 1835. During the following year a prolonged tour through Mysore and Coorg was undertaken by two of the Missionaries (Revs. Hudson and Franklin) who selected suitable stations. Gubbi was made the residence of a Missionary in 1837, and Christian preachers regularly visited a number of populous villages in the vicinity. In 1839, work was begun in the City of Mysore, and gradually extended to other towns. Mysore became the centre of their organized efforts.

“The Wesleyan Mission, in 1923, employed 18 European Missionaries, of whom three were doctors, three nurses, eleven Indian Ministers, fifty Evangelists, and thirty Bible women. The Christian community numbered 7,251. The Mission now maintains two Collegiate High Schools for boys, two Normal Training Institutions—one for men and one for women ; 70 Vernacular, and Anglo-Vernacular boys’ schools, one high school for boys and one home for women. Four hundred and fifty teachers of both sexes are employed, and instruction is given to 6,863 boys and 3,878 girls.”

Many of the Missionaries are employed almost daily in preaching in the open air, as well as on

* L. Rice : *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pages 434-486.

certain days in chapels and school-rooms. Others are engaged in schools. The educational work of the Mission has been all along very successful and until the formation of the Educational Department in 1857, the English instruction of Indian youths was entirely in their hands. An institution at Bangalore was established in 1836, and this became a first class one from 1851. This High School along with the one already established at Mysore still continues to teach up to the University Entrance standard. Hardwicke College was established at Mysore in 1898, and is for the sons of Indian Christians.

The Wesleyan Mission had a fine printing establishment, and among the very important and useful publications, may be mentioned a Canarese translation of the *Bhagavat Gīta*, a portable translation of the Canarese-English Dictionary, and a Canarese Bible. In 1872 the Mission disposed of the Press to a private person ; in 1890 it was again revived, and was greatly developed under European management. This printing press is doing excellent work. The Mission has under its management a fully equipped hospital in Mysore and Hassan. Each is under the management of a European woman doctor, and each has a European nurse on the staff. Another hospital is being erected in the Shimoga district for the benefit of the women and children in Malnad. The Mission has a fine cabinet workshop in Tumkur and is doing excellent work.

Besides these mentioned above there are also other Missions doing excellent philanthropic work. They are the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, American Methodist Episcopal Church, the Church of England Zenana Mission, the Luthern Mission and the Salvation Army.*

* L. Rice: *The Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pages 495-496.
 C. H. R. Do do 349-350.

The Indian Christian converts of the Protestant HABITAT.
faith are chiefly Brāhmans, Lingāyats, Vaiśyas,
Sūdras, Ādikarṇātakas and others. The numbers
of the converts during the past five years are as
given below :—

1922	..	..	6505	|	1924	..	..	6597
1923	..	..	6550	|	1925	..	..	6805
		1926	..			..	6771	

The habitations of the Indian Christians belonging to the Wesleyan Mission are similar to those of others and call for no special notice here. There are however many varieties which depend upon the financial position of the man, but there is one thing common about them, namely, the absence of comfort which is the charm of the English family. When a son of the family marries, he does not take his bride, and set up a house for himself. A room is generally set apart for the newly married couple, or sometimes an annex is put up to accommodate the young couple, and they form a family as a part of it.

Marriage of a Christian with a non-Christian is MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS.
illegal and is seldom allowed, nor can persons closely related be legally married. Sometimes a young man may select a partner from among his relations, but never does he enter into conjugal relations with his sister's daughter. Preliminary negotiations between the parents of the bride and the bridegroom, and the customs connected with betrothal, calling of banns on two successive Sundays among the Protestants are the same as those among the Roman Catholics. As a rule, the bridegroom and his party go to the Church before the arrival of the bride and her party. All *kāṇikays* (gifts) go to the Church. When both the parties, their relatives and friends are assembled in the Church, the parish priest or minister

begins the marriage service for the solemnization of matrimony. The persons to be married stand together, the man on the right hand and the woman on the left; the minister then says in accordance with the anglican Prayer Book, followed in the main by Methodists, and also by other Protestant bodies with minor differences:—

“Dearly beloved, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of this congregation, to join together this man and this woman in holy Matrimony; which is an honourable estate, instituted of God in the time of man’s innocency, signifying unto us the mystical union that is between Christ and his Church; which holy estate Christ sanctioned and adorned with his presence, and first miracle that he wrought in Cana of Galilee; and is commended of St. Paul to be honourable among all men, and therefore is not by any to be enterprised, or taken in hand, unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly; but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God; duly considering the causes for which Matrimony was ordained.

“It was ordained that children might be brought up in the fear and nature of the Lord, and to the praise of his holy Name.

“It was also ordained for the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity.

“Into this holy estate these two persons present come now to be joined. Therefore if any man can show any just cause why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace.”

And speaking unto the Persons that are to be married, he shall say:

“I require and charge you both (as you will answer at the dreadful day of judgment, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed), that if either of you know any impediment why you may not be lawfully joined together in Matrimony, you do now confess it. For be ye well assured, that so many as are joined together otherwise than God’s word doth allow are not joined together by God; neither is their Matrimony lawful.”

The Man shall then say, as required by law, in the presence of the Registrar and two Witnesses:

"I do solemnly declare, that I know not of any lawful impediment, why I, A.B.,* may not be joined in Matrimony to C. D.**"

In like manner, the Woman shall say in the presence of the same Persons :

"I do solemnly declare, that I know not of any lawful impediment, why I, C. D.,† may not be joined in Matrimony to A. B.††"

N.B.—The names of the persons to be married must be repeated as they stand upon the License or Certificate.

If no impediment be alleged, then shall the Minister say unto the Man :

"A. B., Wilt thou have this Woman to thy wedded Wife, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honour, and keep her, in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto her, so long as ye both shall live?"

The Man shall answer :

I will.

Then shall the Minister say unto the Woman :

"C. D., Wilt thou have this Man to thy wedded Husband, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of Matrimony? Wilt thou obey him, serve him, love, honour, and keep him, in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto him, so long as ye both shall live?"

The Woman shall answer :

I will.

Then shall the Minister say :

"Who giveth this Woman to be married to this man?"

Then the Minister shall cause the Man with his right hand to take the Woman by her right hand, and to say after him, as required by law :

"I call upon these persons here present to witness, that I, A. B., do take thee, C. D., to be my lawful wedded Wife, to have

* The Man.

† The Woman.

** The Woman. •

†† The Man.

and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance ; and thereto I plight thee my troth."

Then shall they loose their hands ; and the Woman, with her right hand taking the Man by his right hand, shall likewise say after the Minister :

" I call upon these persons here present to witness, that I, C. D., do take thee, A. B., to be my lawful wedded Husband, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish, and to obey, till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance ; and thereto I give thee my troth."

Then shall they again loose their hands ; and the Man shall give unto the Woman a Ring, laying the same upon the book. And the Minister, taking the Ring, shall deliver it unto the Man, to put it upon the fourth finger of the Woman's left hand. And the Man, holding the Ring there, and taught by the Minister, shall say :

" With this Ring, a token and pledge of the Vow and Covenant now made betwixt me and thee, I thee wed, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Then the Man leaving the Ring upon the fourth finger of the Woman's left hand, they shall both kneel down ; and the Minister shall say :

" Let us pray.

" O ETERNAL God, Creator and Preserver of all mankind, Giver of all spiritual grace, the Author of everlasting life ; Send thy blessing upon these thy servants, this Man and this Woman, whom we bless in thy Name ; that, as Zacharias and Elisabeth lived faithfully together, so these persons may surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt them made, (whereof this Ring given and received is a token and pledge), and may ever remain in perfect love and peace together, and live according to thy laws ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Then shall the Minister join their right hands together, and say :

"Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

Then shall the Minister speak unto the People :—

"FORASMUCH as A. B. and C. D. have consented together in holy wedlock, and have witnessed the same before God and this company, and thereto have pledged their troth either to other, and have declared the same by giving and receiving of a Ring, and by joining of hands ; I pronounce that they be Man and Wife together, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

And the Minister shall add this blessing :

"God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve, and keep you ; the Lord mercifully with His favour look upon you ; and so fill you with all spiritual benediction and grace, that ye may so live together in this life that in the world to come ye may have life everlasting. Amen."*

The family life of the Indian Christians of the Protestant faith does not in any way differ from that of the Roman Catholics. It is more or less regulated by the Christian ideals. Inheritance is regulated by the Christian law of succession and by the will of the man before his death.

FAMILY
INHERITANCE
AND
ADOPTION.

Disputes are generally settled by a *Panchayat* appointed by the Minister who conducts everything in a brotherly spirit in accordance with the command of Jesus Christ. He taught each disciple first to tell the truth or to confess his fault privately to the man who wronged him, failing which, to convey it in the presence of two or three brethren. If the delinquent fails to do so, the Church has to deal with the matter. Every Church has its court of discipline presided over by the minister. If a member leads an immoral life, he is generally warned, and if he persists in his sinful habits, his conduct is enquired into by a church

SOCIAL
ORGANIZA-
TION.

* *Methodists' Public Prayers and Services*, pages 366—370.

Panchayat, and in the event of his being guilty, the minister may excommunicate him.

POST-NATAL
CEREMONIES :
BAPTISM.

Before the administration of the sacrament, the minister shall ascertain whether or not the infant has been previously baptized. All parents bringing their children to be baptized are to be reminded that they thereby devote them to God, and are pledged to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord ; and that the sacrament of Baptism is administered on their virtual promise by the grace of God so to do. The minister then addresses the Congregation about the necessity of the sacrament, and recites in their presence suitable prayers. Here all the congregation shall stand, and the minister taking the child into his arms shall say to the parents or friends, "Name the child." After naming the child, he sprinkles it with water or pours water upon or dips it in water, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." "We receive the child into the congregation of Christ's flock, that he may be instructed and trained in the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion ; and trust that he be Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end." The minister again addresses the congregation, and reminds them of their obligations and privileges in connection with that sacrament. To aid the training of the baptized child, a copy of the first catechism is given to the parents. The ministration to men of riper years is done more or less in the same manner.

THE HOLY
COMMUNION.

"The table at the Communion time, having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand, in some convenient place. And the Minister having come to the table, shall say the Lord's prayer with the collect following, all kneeling. When the earlier part of

the Communion service, commonly called the pre-communion, has been read in public worship on that same day, the minister shall commence with offertory sentences. The Minister in conducting the service according to the following form shall have full liberty to give out hymns and to use extemporary prayer. "Our Father which art in Heaven," etc. Then shall the Minister rise, and, turning to the people rehearse the ten commandments; and the people still kneeling, shall after the recital of the commandments, ask God's pardon for transgression thereof for the time past, and grace to keep the same for the time to come. Then all shall repeat one of the collects. Here may be read one of the epistles for the day. Then shall the Minister read one of the passages during the reading of which, a collection shall be made of the poor. This being brought to the Minister, he shall place it on the Lord's table."

"The Doctrine of Methodism was the offspring of RELIGION.
the evangelical revival that took place in England during the eighteenth century; its doctrine was moulded under the religious condition of that age.

A rationalistic deism then largely prevailed amongst educated men—a system of thought which fenced God off from mankind behind the laws of nature and bounded human knowledge by the limits of sense-perception and logical reason. The deity was treated as an absentee from His world; and men consequently became godless in practice as in thought. The Revival swept down these artificial barriers. God was realised in living contact with His children. The sense of the divine was recovered; the transcendent became again immanent to consciousness. Accordingly, "the life of God in the souls of Men" was Wesley's definition of religion; the work of God

was the habitual Methodist designation for the Revival, because in its phenomena God's immediate action upon human nature was discerned. Hence the emphasis laid in the teaching of the Wesleys on the witness of the Spirit. (Ro 8). The doctrine of assurance—the personal certainty of the forgiveness of sins and of restored sonship toward God—was the outstanding feature of original Methodism. To most Churchmen of the time professions of this kind appeared a strange “enthusiasm,” that a man might know his sins forgiven was deemed a dangerous presumption. Along with the Fatherhood of God, the deity of the atoning Saviour and of the witnessing and sanctifying spirit came to be freshly recognized ; an arrest was made of the Socinianism which by the middle of the 18th century was rife among both Anglicans and Dissenters.”* (G. Lavington, *the Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists considered*, London 1833.)

METHODISTS CHURCH.

The characteristic features of the Methodists' teaching may be summed up as follows :—

1. *Universal redemption.*—Wesley and his preachers offered in the name of Jesus Christ, a free full and present salvation to every sinner—a salvation based on the sacrifice of the Cross bestowed on condition of repentance towards God and faith towards the Lord Jesus Christ, and certified inwardly by the witness of the spirit of God bringing peace of heart, and the sense of God's fatherly love, and outwardly by the love of holy obedience.

2. *Entire sanctification.*—Methodism holds the gospel to be as large in its intention, as in its extension, to be designed for the rooting out from human nature of every plant which the Heavenly Father planted not ; it encourages the Christian man to look for the

* E. R. E., Vol. VIII, page 610.



PROTESTANT CONVERTS WITH THEIR EUROPEAN SUPERIORS.

perfect cure in himself and in his race of sins, disease. The rules of society illustrated by Wesley's social work virtually include the community with the individual man in the hope of Christ's redemption.

3. *The fellowship of believers.*—Methodism stands for Christian brotherhood. It honours the Ministry, and cherishes the two sacraments, but in its view, the proof of the Church membership lies not essentially in the observance of sacraments, nor in obedience to priests, nor in subscription to creeds, but in the fulfilling of the part of Christ's brethren of His law of love by their seeking one another's company and bearing one another's burdens.

4. *Ordered Christian service.*—This is the love of God that we keep His commandments; the Wesleyan Rules of Society were conceived as an application of the commandments of Christ to the situation of the Methodist people in early days. Interpreted with good sense and according to the spirit in which they were framed, those rules were found applicable to later times and to the circumstances of Methodists all over the world. They signify that the Christian man is Christ in body and in spirit, and is called in concert with his fellows to bend everything in life to the furtherance of God's kingdom on earth.

The above sketch is a narrative of the genesis of Methodism as a product of, and a factor in the life of Christendom. In spite of its expansion and the reaction upon it of later religious movements, a striking identity prevails.

Christianity by caste may mean social divisions between man and man sanctioned by immemorial custom and consecrated by Hindu religion. They are retained by a kind of traditional heredity. But Protestant Christians believe that the caste distinctions in a church are opposed to Christian ideals.

CHRISTIANITY
BY CASTE.

Whether a man is a Brāhman or Ādikarnāṭaka, he is a sinner before God seeking the same salvation which is fully offered in Jesus Christ.

**CHRISTIANITY
BY FAITH.**

Christianity by Faith—The gist of the Gospel message to the Christian is this, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and ye shall be saved." In other words, a man, who cannot, singlehanded, do all such works of righteousness as to merit salvation thereby, can, with the help of Jesus Christ, do all that is needful for the purpose. All that the sinner has to do is to repent and accept the Baptism of Jesus by faith. This is what we call Christianity by faith. By this act of faith, the Christian believes that he can give up all that is dirty and sinful in this world, and enter legally into the inheritance of the Son of God under the new covenant of Jesus Christ. It is essential in Christianity that men of every caste and class should believe that those who are divided among themselves do not deserve to be called the children of the Heavenly Father.

**FUNERAL
CUSTOMS.**

When a person is at the point of death, the Minister of the Church is summoned sometimes to administer the sacrament of Lord's Supper. Generally the dying person is calm and happy, as he feels that death is nothing but a door through which he passes into the world of eternal happiness. The whole atmosphere is made so solemn, that the Christians leave their dear ones to die peacefully, where they are, at the point of death, unlike the Hindus who carry the dying man to die in outer room or verandah. The Christians generally bury their dead. The dead body is washed and clothed in one long white cloth, and is placed in a lying posture on a cot or bench. In some cases a candle is lighted at the head of the body.

Before going to the cemetery, a short memorial service is held either in the house of the deceased or in the nearest Church. The coffin is made of deal wood, and covered either with black or white cloth, and is carried by the Christians themselves, if the cemetery is not far off. There is generally a procession which consists of relations and friends, both men and women. At the cemetery the Minister going before the body reads some verses from the Bible, which give bright hopes to those who are in sorrow. At the grave a service is reverentially conducted according to the form prescribed by the Church Council. The cemetery as a rule is an attractive garden planted with trees and marble tombstones with inscriptions over the graves of some erected in loving memory by their dear ones. In some villages the new Christians like their Hindu brethren carry the dead on a bier, but the procession and the funeral service are much the same as those in towns. On the tenth day they hold a prayer meeting in memory of the deceased. But it is not like the Hindu *śrādhhas*, the object of which is to assist the departed spirit in the various experiences it will have to pass through. There is no defilement at all when a person dies in a Christian home.

The village Christians are mostly raiyats and weavers; and those in the town are generally teachers, clerks and carpenters. OCCUPATION.

Here again there are no strong caste prejudices. Nevertheless, a high caste convert may not interdine with a low caste convert. SOCIAL STATUS

There is freedom in the choice of food. A Christian may be a vegetarian or meat eater. The chief articles of food are those used by Hindus and Muhammadans. FOOD.

**APPEARANCE,
DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS.**

There is nothing peculiar in the appearance of a Christian. He is like other Indians; but has no caste mark on the forehead. Dress, ornaments and games of Christians do not in any way differ from those of ordinary Hindu men and women in Mysore.

[I am indebted to Rev. G. W. Sawday for the information contained in this monograph.]

DĀRZI.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
 LANGUAGE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—HABITAT—
 MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—
 PUBERTY CUSTOMS—PREGNANCY RITES—CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH
 DELIVERY—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—WIDOW MARRIAGE—
 ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—CASTE ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—
 FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY
 OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

DĀRZI is a caste of tailors found all over the Mysore State. The word is derived from the Persian *Darz* meaning a “seam.” It is an occupational term used indiscriminately to denote any person who is a tailor by trade. But when used to indicate the name of a caste, it refers to various communities, namely, Simpi, Rangāre, Bhāvasar Kshatri, Chippiga, Nāmdev, Nāmdev Šimpi. The word *Chippiga* is a Canarese equivalent of the Mahratti word *Šimpi*. Again the *Šimpi* is another form of *Chipa* or *Chippa* which means a calico printer or dyer of cloth. The word *Rangāre* is a Mahratti synonym of *chippa*, and means one who works in *rang* or colour, i.e., a printer or dyer of cloth. Simpīs have two occupations, (1) printing or dyeing of cloth, and (2) stitching. These two occupations seem to have been assigned to them by their Goddess Hingulāmbika also known as Hingulājdēvi of Hingulādri on the borders of Sindh.

INTRODUCTION.

During the expeditions of Paraśurāma to destroy all the Kshatriyas and rid the land of them, they

ORIGIN AND
 TRADITION
 OF THE
 CASTE.

fled to different parts to save themselves. King Chithraratha had two sons, viz., (1) Mahābhoja also known as Nāda, and (2) Mahābāhu otherwise known as Swētadhwaja or Sāda. Nāda's queen was Kamalādevi who had twenty-one sons. Sāda's queen was Chandrakala and she had thirty-five sons. These were powerful rulers, and by the increase of these two families several other rulers had come under their sway. But when it was heard that Paraśurāma was approaching to destroy all the Kshatriyas, Nāda and Sāda with their families and followers proceeded to Hingulājdēvi, and prayed for her protection. The Goddess, who was pleased with their devotion towards her, asked them to cast aside their arms and call themselves Bhāvasars, for she had saved them for their *bhāva* or devotion. She gave *tāmbulam* to Nāda and blessed him to prosper by the occupation of preparing any colour from that *prasādam* of *tāmbulam*. She gave a needle and thread to Sāda and blessed him to live with their help. When Paraśurāma came in search of these Kshatriyas, the Goddess told him that they were not Kshatriyas, but Bhāvasars. Being thus saved from the axe of Paraśurāma, the Bhāvasars took leave of the Goddess, and both the parties of Nāda and Sāda proceeded to Surat (near Sōmanath) where they lived happily for many years. When famine broke out there, about 14,000 in number went towards the north. Among them were Chohāns, Solankhi, Povmār and others, and having reached Kālpi (Allahabad) they had a feast there, known as Gopal Kaleva (*gopal-kala*, in Mahratti means eating together), and thence they spread themselves to other parts of India where they could earn their living by printing and dyeing, stitching clothes and selling them. These became the principal occupation of the Bhāvasars.

This tradition which goes to prove the Kshatriya origin of the caste, also shows that the original name of the caste of both the dyers (Chipas) and Dārzis (tailors) is Bhāvasar (essence of devotion), and that this name applies equally to the calico printers and dyers of clothes. Those that stitch cloth and make dresses (tailors) are called Dārzis. These terms Simpi, Rangāre and Dārzi indicate one and the same caste, all of whom are Bhāvasars, and can interdine and intermarry.*

There is also another tradition, that during the destruction of the Kshatriyas by Paraśurāma, two Kshatriya brothers concealed themselves in a temple. The priest thereof who protected them set one of them to tailoring for the idol, and the other to dye and stamp them. This change of status saved them from the axe of Paraśurāma. The first brother who was called *Chipi* became the ancestor of the Dārzis, the second of the dyers. This tradition appears to be a mutilated one about the blessings of Hingulām-bika already mentioned. There is some truth in this, because the tradition is slightly changed, and is preserved in their Bhat records. There is a Purānic account of the Dārzis in the Uttara Samhita of Hingulādēvi Khanda of the *Skānda Purana*.†

* There is a certain section of Bhāvasars who go by the name of Nāmdev Simpīs. There is a belief in some places, that Nāmdev, a great devotee of Vitoba of Pundharpur, who was born of the Kshatriya caste, is the originator of the Simpi or Nāmdev Simpi caste. This belief is erroneous, as Nāmdev was a member of the Bhāvasar caste, and this caste existed long before his time. Another belief is that the word *Simpi* is derived from *Simp*, an old oyster shell in which the child Nāmdev is said to have been found in the Bhīma river by Damaji Sett, father of Nāmdev, in response to his prayer for a son. This is a mere story, and the word is more correctly derived from *chipa*, and has no bearing to the word *shimp* which means a shell. Nāmdev is said to have been a contemporary of Kabir, and to have flourished in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

It is said that though the Chippas and Rangāre do not intermarry or dine together, no essential distinction exists between them.

† Chapters 77-84.

HABITAT.

The Dārzis or Bhāvasar Kshatriyas are found all over the Bombay Presidency, and the Mysore State. The ancestors of the Dārzis in Mysore were mostly immigrants from the Bombay Presidency. It is said that many families were imported to Mysore during the time of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, and made to settle down in Ganjam, and the eastern portion of Seringapatam to carry on the work of dyeing and calico painting for which they were very famous. The Ganjam chintz was highly appreciated outside Mysore, and fetched high prices. The Dārzis are now found in all the towns of Mysore where they can successfully follow their occupation. Their houses are similar to those of other corresponding castes.

LANGUAGE.

The Dārzis of Mysore speak Mahratti, and are also conversant with the language of the country. They are a literate community and are familiar with the works of Tukarām, Nāmdev and others.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

The Dārzis have a number of exogamous clans bearing the same surname (Adanav), and the same *gōtra*. It so happens that some families of different surnames have the same *gōtra*, and that in rare cases the families of the same surname have different *gōtras*. Marriage is allowed between persons of different *gōtras*. The Dārzis have their surnames (*Adanav*), and *gōtras*. The following is a list of the names of the surnames and *gōtras* :—

<i>Surname.</i>	<i>Gōtra.</i>	<i>Surname.</i>	<i>Gōtra.</i>
Ambekav	.. Bhrigu.	Haval	.. Kutsa.
Petkav	.. Bhrigu.	Bedare	.. Kutsa.
Avasakav	.. Pingakobi.	Garathode	.. Kutsa.
Tandale	.. Pingakobi.	Smaguje	.. Kutsa.
Avale	.. Sritsamada.	Amberre	.. Poulasteysa.
Koolos	.. Sritsamada.	Ambare	.. Poulasteysa.
Avatakav	.. Kutsa.	Dillidagav	.. Poulasteysa.
Asondakav	.. Kutsa.	Ajurkav	.. Adityasyana

<i>Surname.</i>	<i>Gōtra.</i>	<i>Surname.</i>	<i>Gōtra.</i>
Asavale	.. Patanjali.	Petakav	.. Kausika.
Amate	.. Patanjali.	Dakhani	.. Kausika.
Avasekav	.. Vena.	Kidine	.. Kausika.
Avasare	.. Vena.	Idhile	.. Kausika.
Adakav	.. Karyasa.	Abhang	.. Bharadwāja.
Udale, Vadanka	.. Karyasa.	Nandane	.. Bharadwāja.
Arane	.. Durvasa.	Khaqrare	.. Bharadwāja.
Sobankar	.. Durvasa.	Vasagul	.. Bharadwāja.
Ashtekav	.. Sandipa.	Chuswokav	.. Bharadwāja.
Somajhale	.. Sandipa.	Suraphale	.. Bharadwāja.
Adone	.. Gangeya.	Goga, Bhure	.. Bharadwāja.
Alone	.. Kausika.	Pingale	.. Bharadwāja.
Bhokare	.. Kausika.	Agulavo	.. Atri.

The following are the names of the *gōtras* in vogue among the caste-men of Mysore:—

<i>Names of Gōtras.</i>		<i>Names of Gōtras.</i>	
Atma	Rishi.	Sringa	Rishi.
Bharadvāja	..	Sukla	..
Brahhaspati	..	Vālmīki	..
Kundala	..	Vasishta	..
Kasyapa	..	Vasuchi	..
Pimpala	..	Visvāmitra	..
Sontana	..		

Family names in addition to those given above are the following:—

<i>Family Names.</i>	<i>Family Names.</i>
Amte.	Halal.
Bagari.	Kangokar.
Bedare.	Khandoba.
Bhugale.	Katekare Latore.
Bilamkar.	Mendvakar.
Bombare.	Mhelkar.
Damader.	Mirjekar.
Garji.	Malore.
Ghate.	Mulakar.
Gujare.	Nilokar.*

* It is said, that among Dārzis there are seven hundred surnames and more than 350 *gōtras*. They are said to belong to all the three Vēdas, Rig, Yajur and Sāma, and that they have *sākhās* (branches) as well. But on a reference to this caste, in the tribes and castes of other provinces in India no mention is made. The author of the castes and tribes of H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions says, that even the *gōtra* system appears to be ornamental, and that the marriage regulations are based more upon family names.

In the Holalkere of the Chitaldrug District the two divisions are Bhāvasara Kshatriyas and Eka-thade, the members of which neither interdine nor intermarry. In the Manjarabad there are three sub-divisions, namely, Bhāvasara Kshatriyas, Chippaga and Mahrattas. There is also another section known as Nāmdēvara Dārzi. Rangāres have given up their occupation of dyeing and have become tailors. It is also said that both Dārzis and Rangāre belong to the same division.

**MARRIAGE
PROHIBITIONS.**

There are, as has been said, several other castes included among the Dārzis, and they are Chola Simpīs, Nilagars, Ahirs, Simpīs, and others who form endogamous groups tending to the formation of separate castes. But the real Dārzis in Mysore include the Bhāvasars and Rangāres who, considered as a whole, are endogamous. The members do not form any matrimonial alliances with those outside their community. Nāmdēv Simpīs who are numerous in the Mahratta Districts of the Bombay Presidency are not many in Mysore, and with them the Bhāvasars observe neither intermarriage nor interdining. Besides *gōtras*, family names are impediments to intermarriage. A young man may not marry the daughter of his sister, but may form conjugal relations with the daughter of his maternal uncle. They have a saying that a creeper should not turn back. Two brothers may not marry two sisters at the same time.

**MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.**

Girls are married between eleven and fourteen years of age and boys between fourteen and twenty. When a young man has reached the marriageable age, his parents look out for a suitable girl, and when one is selected, they formally talk over the

matter with the girl's parents. In the event of their willingness, an auspicious day is chosen for the final settlement, for which the boy's father, maternal uncle, and a few of his relations, along with some married women, taking some new clothes, turmeric, jaggery and a few cocoanuts, go to the girl's house, where the girl's party and the castemen with the headman (*yajamānan*) who are invited for the occasion, are present. The boy and the girl are smeared with turmeric, and presented with some jewels at the time. In the garments of the girl are put some plantains and cocoanuts. After the formal settlement in the presence of the castemen and the assembled persons, a formal writ setting forth the terms of the marriage, and the auspicious day for the celebration, is prepared and read before the assembly, and then exchanged between the parents of the girl and the boy along with betel leaves and areca nuts. This is called *nischita tāmbula*. This ceremony has a great binding effect which can be ignored only in the event of the death of the boy, even in which case the girl cannot be married to a bachelor. She can be married only by a widower.

An auspicious day is fixed for the celebration of marriage. The first item of the programme is the worship of the family deity, for which the relatives and castemen are invited and sumptuously entertained. The next function is the fixing or the installation of the post at an auspicious hour (*kambha muhūrtham*) for the erection of the marriage pandal, which generally consists of 12 pillars probably symbolizing the twelve signs of the zodiac. They are all painted alternately with red and white circles, and covered with clothes dyed red with turmeric, and decorated with mango leaves. The posts are fixed to the right of the outer door, as

one goes out, because it is held to be sacred. A similar *pandal* is put up in front of the house of the bridegroom. The one at the house of the bride is always larger and better decorated, because it is there that the *kanyakadānam* (gift of the maiden) takes place. The *pūja* is performed by the priest to the first post when it is fixed. On the day of *kambha muhūrtham* there will be a worship of *Ganapati* and other gods in the marriage *pandal*, and after due offerings (*naivedyam*), there will be a dinner to the castemen. In cases where *nischita tāmbulam* has not been celebrated as described above, before the commencement of the marriage, and only as a promise of the parents in the presence of the castemen, the said function is celebrated in the house of the girl on the same day in the same manner. On this day a *kalaśam* is set up in the house in the name of the ancestors to be worshipped separately. The clothes brought for the marriage will be placed before this *kalaśam* as a sort of offering to the ancestors to invoke their blessings for the successful celebration of the marriage.

The next day the family gods and goddesses are duly worshipped; this is a busy day in every marriage house. The first thing is to have the *mangala snānam* or bath which is taken in the marriage *pandal* under auspicious circumstances while the band is playing. On the floor five vessels containing water, called *pancha kalaśam*, are placed and cotton threads are passed five times round them so as to make a rectangle. In this rectangle planks are placed, and the boy or the girl as the case may be, or others who are to bathe, enter the rectangle by first placing the right foot in. Married women serve warm water for bathing. While the couple are still in the rectangle (after

the bath), technically called '*surgi*,' their foreheads are decked with a mark of turmeric, and the parents of the bride or bridegroom are presented with new clothes by their relatives. Wearing these they come out, and are ready to begin the worship of the family Gods. During this worship which is called *dēvakāryam*, they go to a well or a tank to bring therefrom the *dēvak* which is a sword, a knife or an axe, wrapped in mango leaves, a branch of the jambolina, and a pot of sacred water to the marriage pavilion in procession. They tie up the *dēvak* to the *kambha muhūrtha*, and place the pot of sacred water at the foot of that pillar. They then perform *pūja* to that pillar and also tie to it sweet cakes for *naivedyam* or offering.

The deities worshipped on this day are not the same in all families. Some worship Bhavāni, and have Gondhāl *pūja* of Bhavāni throughout the night previous to the day of the marriage. Some have Dhānayee or Kālī Āyee. Some adore Bhairava or Siddāji or Venkataramanasvāmi and feed gosāyis and dāsaris. This worship is to invoke their blessings to the successful termination of the marriage festivities. After this comes the anointing of the bride and the bridegroom with oil and the application of turmeric by married women. There will be an exchange of *kalad* or turmeric from the bridegroom's family to the bride's and *vice versa*. It is taken with flowers and *pan supari* in procession from one pandal to the other. This exchange has to take place five times, but owing to the pressure of business the number now is considerably reduced.

On the next day, *i.e.*, the day fixed for the marriage, the bridegroom and the bride bathe with their parents and relatives in the "*surgi*" in their respective pandals. From the bridegroom's pandal

the wedding costumes and flowers for the bride-elect are taken in procession to the bride's pavilion by a young boy who is the brother or some other relative of the bridegroom, and who goes in a carriage or on horseback in procession. He is ceremoniously received at the *pandal* of the bride, seated on a platform, and is presented with flowers, *pan supari* and *voti*. After handing over the wedding costumes and flowers to the bride, he receives the costumes and flowers for the bridegroom, and returns in procession with them to the bridegroom's *pandal*. Both the bride and bridegroom are dressed in new costumes and decked with flowers, and *bhāshinga*, while they are seated on a *chouk* facing their gods respectively. After this their parents and relatives put a morsel of sweets, which consist of boiled wheat vermicelli with sugar and milk into their mouths, and receive from them a morsel in return. This is an occasion when bitter feelings for parting with the girl prevail in the bride's family. The bridegroom neatly dressed and adorned in his best, proceeds with the blessings of his mother, either in a carriage or on horseback, or sometimes on a bull, accompanied by his parents, friends and relations, halts in a temple on the way for the worship of the deity therein. Thence the procession starts for the house of the bride-elect, and on its arrival there, the bridegroom-elect and his party are welcomed, when *ārati* is waved round his face by an elderly married woman to avoid the potency of the evil eye. If he is young, his maternal uncle carries him into the marriage booth. He stands facing east in a new bamboo basket with his right foot in front. The bride-elect who is dressed in a yellow costume, is brought from inside the house, and made to stand on a square or oblong grinding stone facing the bridegroom on the other side of the curtain which

is held between the two before her arrival there. *Akshate* or rice coloured yellow is distributed to all those present there. The *purōhit* who stands facing the north between the couple, repeats *mangalasūktam*, and asks the bridegroom to put the coloured rice on the head of the bride, who also is directed to do likewise over the head of the bridegroom. Then the *purōhit* also puts the coloured rice on the heads of both. The castemen assembled there shower the rice on the bridal pair with their blessings and repeat *mangalasūktams*. The bridegroom garlands the bride who also puts a garland round his neck. The curtain is then removed.

The *purōhit* still continues to chant the sacred hymns. A cotton thread wound in the form of a ball and put in a vessel of water is passed round the couple so as to make a square enclosure of two and three rounds separately. The former is taken out from under the feet of the couple, and that of the latter from over their heads. These are kept separate for being used in wearing *kankanam* round the wrists of the conjugal pair, the one with three threads being used for the bridegroom. After this, the basket and the stone are removed, the bride and bridegroom exchange their places, and sit down facing each other. The *purohit*, after necessary *pūja*, ties round their wrists the *kankanams* dyed yellow with turmeric.

The *dhāre* (giving away of the maiden) then takes place. A cocoanut dyed yellow is put on the two hands of the bride, and these are placed in the two palms of the bridegroom. A large plate is placed beneath to receive the milk poured on the cocoanut. The parents of the bride come together with their upper clothes tied together, the father carrying the vessel with milk, and the

mother carrying the auspicious *kanchikalaśam* already described. At this time she puts on a shawl, and it is the end of this shawl that is tied to the end of the upper cloth of her husband. The vessels and other presents to the bride and bridegroom on this occasion are brought and placed before the assembly. The parents or guardians who give her in marriages pour milk on the coconut requesting the bridegroom to protect the bride well. The bridegroom replies by expressing his intention to do so. After pouring the *dhāre* in the presence of the assembly as witness, and making obeisance to the couple by touching their feet, they retire. Other relations of the girl come one after another and pour milk, and give whatever presents they can afford to the bride and bridegroom, including clothes and jewels.

After *dhāre*, the next item of the ceremony is *māṅgalya dhāraṇam*. The *tāli* or the marriage badge along with gold and black glass beads is placed in a tray which is passed round, and touched by all and blessed before it is tied round the neck of the bride. Then comes the *phala pūja* by the couple who are seated side by side with their garments tied together. In some families the *homa* (fire offering) is performed, and in others it is given up. Then follows the *Saptapati*, *Arundati darśanam*, one after another. At the end there is the distribution of *attar*, *pan*, flowers to those assembled as also money gifts to the *Vaidiks*. Soon after, the bridegroom's party, relations and friends of the bride are sumptuously fed.

Sunnamukh.—After the *Saptapati*, the married couple enter the house to worship the deities, and sit in front of them. The *bhāshinga* is removed and kept aside. The bridegroom's mother comes to see the face of the daughter-in-law, which is called

in Mahratti *sunnamukh*, when the conjugal pair go to the *pandal*, and seat themselves facing north or east. The bridegroom's mother gives them sweets (a mixture of milk, honey, sugar, plantains and fruits), flowers and *pan supari*. They partake of a little while songs are sung by the women assembled there then.

Roosbagh.—This function should come next, but is not observed in these days. The bridegroom pretends to steal the deity of the bride's family, and to conceal himself in a neighbouring house. The bride goes in procession in the guise of a young man to the bridegroom to call him home. After much fun and merry-making, the couple are brought in procession to the marriage pavilion of the bride.

Varat.—This is a procession of the married couple from the bride's house to that of the bridegroom. The expenses of the procession are borne by the bridegroom's parents, but the bride's parents have to entertain the bridegroom's party and make suitable presents to them before sending the girl in procession from their house. As soon as the procession enters the *pandal*, the bridal pair enter the house with a view to adore the family deity, but they are obstructed by his sister holding a wooden pestle, who extorts from him a promise, that in the event of his having a daughter, he should give her in marriage to her son. After their worship, they return to the *pandal*, and are seated side by side on the *chouk*. The parents of the bride and other relatives are also present, when the bride is formally introduced to the relatives of the bridegroom, as also to the members of the family. A formal transfer of the bride to the bridegroom's family then takes place. Again the bridal pair sit together in a conspicuous

place. The bridegroom removes the *bhāshinga* and the *kankana*, which is called *kankana visarjanam*.

Mayi Jāvu.—The closing function of the marriage ceremony is a sumptuous feast of the bride's party, giving of presents and a distribution of *pan supari*, plantains and cocoanuts. The caste headman is specially honoured by receiving an extra *tāmbulam*. If the parents of the bridegroom are poor, and cannot afford to entertain them with a sumptuous dinner, it is postponed to the nuptial ceremony.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is supposed to be impure for three days, during which she is lodged in a room or in a corner of the house. She is bathed and seated on a *maṇe* (wooden plank) with a doll, and *ārati* is waved round her. If the girl is already married, she is seated at a distance from her husband, and *ārati* is waved round. In the evenings she is given dry cocoanuts and sweets to eat. On the morning of the fourth day, the girl is purified by a bath, and in the evening the husband and wife are seated together in the presence of the *yajamānan*, castemen and married women. They are smeared with turmeric paste, and the girl's garments are filled with wheat, cocoanut and betel leaves.

On or before the sixteenth day, consummation takes place, and the girl thereafter resides with her husband, when she is supplied with clothes, jewels, sometimes cooking utensils and a cow. Before starting she is seated on a plank, dressed in a new *sari*, and her garments are filled with wheat, cocoanut, etc. Of late consummation is deferred for a year or two until the girl is found sufficiently healthy and mature.



A DARJI FAMILY AT BANGALORE.

When a woman is big with child, her family deity is adored; she wears bangles and is dressed in new costumes. Either on the fifth or the seventh month, *pumsavana* and *sīmantha* ceremonies are performed, when the father of the woman or of her husband presents her with a *sari*.

PREGNANCY
RITES.

After delivery both the mother and child are bathed. If the child be a female, the sister of the confined woman brings milk, sweets and betel leaves, washes a small part of the floor in front of the house with cow-dung and water, draws an ornamental design with *rangōli* (powdered quartz) of white, yellow and red colours, and distributes sweets to all the members of the family. She requests them to give the baby, when she grows to the proper age, in marriage to her son, and returns home. During the first five days after delivery, the mother is fed on rice and ghee without salt and sometimes pepper water and garlic, when a little salt is added to the rice. On the evening of the day, the midwife worships *sati*, and *ārati* is waved round her under garment, so as not to be seen by any one lest the mother and child might sicken. On this particular day, the Goddess of Fate is supposed to visit the lying-in room which is kept open. On the eleventh day she is purified by a bath and the house also is whitewashed. The *punyāham* ceremony is then performed to free the mother and the babe from pollution. *Nāmakarṇa* (name-giving) ceremony also takes place on that day, when the relatives are present and each gives a name. The first is preferred, and the others are used as pet names. In the evening the babe is laid on a cradle and rocked. The married women who assemble there then, present the babe with money or jewels, and receive *pan supari*, turmeric and *kunkuma*. The babe is named after one of

the ancestors or the family deity. The names ordinarily given to the males are: Hemāji, Siddoji, Khandi Rao, Vittala, Tukāram and Yellappa, and the females are named Tulsi Bai, Amba Bai, Yamuna Bai, Tukamma. Such opprobrious names as Tippa, Gunda, Dhondoji and pet names are also common. If there are two persons of the same name, the prefixes Dhakati and Puttu are added to the younger of the two. Contraction of names is also very common; for example, Akkam for Lakshamana Rao.

The tonsure ceremony is performed in the third or the fifth year of the child, when they go to the shrine of the tribal god at Pandharpur, if they can afford the expenses. They practise adoption, the boy being the son of the brother.

Rao is the surname of men and Bai that of women. In Mysore they add the termination of Appa or Ayya to men and Amma to women.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widow marriage is permitted where no children are possessed by the woman. She cannot be married either by a bachelor or by a married man. She is always married by a widower. The ceremony takes place generally during night, and no married woman either attends or takes part in the ceremony. The couple are seated on a blanket in the assembly of the castemen and the *yajamānan*, and the *tāli* is tied by the husband. The woman after marriage is not admitted into the houses of others for three months. The price for a widow is Rs. 10, and half of that for a virgin.

DIVORCE.

Divorce is permitted only in case of adultery on the part of the woman, and the divorced woman cannot marry again. In fact, it is looked upon with abhorrence, and an unmarried girl found in criminal

intimacy with a man of her own caste or that of another is thrown out of caste, and cannot be admitted again.

The caste is well organized and all matters of importance affecting the welfare of the caste are managed by the caste *pañchāyat*. The headman of the caste is styled *Vadil* who is helped by an assistant named *Dharmakarta*. There is also a servant who carries news and orders from place to place, to collect caste people when any *pañchāyat* is held, on all important ceremonies such as marriage, when they have to pay a fixed amount to the temple. Some social reforms have been recently taking place among the Dārzis. Some have begun to wear the holy thread, and perform the ceremony of *upanayanam*. Some are also without it. The ceremony is performed in the month of Srāvaṇa.

CASTE OR-
GANIZATION.

In large towns and cities there are sometimes two or three groups of *pañch* having separate funds for the purpose of managing the caste affairs in each group. There is no restriction for interdining and intermarriage between these groups. Each group deals with caste questions relating to families that come under its jurisdiction, and punishes delinquents by fine or excommunication. The matter is reported to other groups in respect of the decisions. The headman has now lost much of his respect under modern conditions. The castemen have a *sanga* called *Bhāvasar Kshatriya*, which has been recognized by the Government. The *sanga* has the privilege of returning a member to the Representative Assembly. The *sanga* has funds utilized for the education of the caste children.

The Dārzis are very religious and worship Vishṇu and Siva alike. Their tribal god is Vitōba of

RELIGION.

Pandharpur and the Goddess Bhavāni. Besides these, they have a number of gods and goddesses to whom they show a special reverence. Jotiba of Kolhapur, and Jotiba Khandoba of Jejūri near Poona and Yellamma are some of them. Their chief gods are Vitōba and his wife Rukmabai to whose shrines they make pilgrimages. Some go to Pandharpur to adore Vitōba, twice a year, once in the bright eleventh day of *Āshād*, and again in the bright eleventh day of *Kārtik*. Pandharpur is especially held sacred, because of its having been the sacred resort of their poet and saint Nāmdev. Vitōba is their family god. Generally all feasts are held on the eleventh day of *Āshād* and *Kārtik*. They worship also the village gods and goddesses to whom animal sacrifices are given. Among the trees may be mentioned the jambolina, fig, pipal, margosa, guava, tulsi, and sweet basil to which *pūja* is offered by them. They adore the sun, the moon and the planets and perform *pūjas* to them. They conduct *bhājana* parties especially on the nights of Ekādeśi in *Āshād* (June-July) and *Kārtik* (November-December). The *guru* of the caste is the Swāmi of Śringēri to whom they offer *pādapūja*. They have also other *gurus* to whom they pay the customary obeisance. Bhodalebava at Pandha, Goraknath of Benares and Chunchanagari are also their *gurus*.

Fasts and Festivals.—The fasts observed by the Dārzis are generally those observed by high caste Hindus. The Varakāris, i.e., those who regularly visit the Pandharpur in *Āshād* and *Kārtik* observe Ekādeśi strictly, and all except children fast on all festive days until *naivedyam* is offered to the deity. On Yugādi, which they call Gudipadava, they perform the usual worship and set up a *gudi* or flag as follows:—To a long cleaned bamboo, to which are tied up leaves of the nim (margosa) and

mango and flowers throughout its length, a *kalaśam* is set up on the top with some coloured and laced cloth, preferably a new bodice cloth, tied up so as to hang down from it. This flag they instal for worship is in front of the house on a clean spot decorated with drawings of white and coloured powders. At the time of its removal also they worship it. It indicates the prosperity through which the family passed in the previous year, and their hope for the year that commences from that date.

The next feast is Rāmanavami on which day they congregate in their caste temple and celebrate Rāmajayanti with Kathāśravaṇam and *Purāṇa pathanam*. On the Akshatatritiya they perform *tarpaṇam* for their ancestors, and worship along with their deities two *kalaśams* placing all the *navedyam* prepared for the feast on them. *Āshāda Suddha Ekādasi* is a hard fasting day for them. In *Srāvaṇa* on the Nāgara Panchami day, they worship the serpent god or Nāga with scrupulous cleanliness. In *Bhādrapada* they have the Gauri and Ganeśa feasts, and observe the Anantha Padmanābha Vratam and Gokulāshtami. In *Bhādrapada Bahula* they perform *tilatarpaṇam* for their deceased ancestors in the form of *srāddha* offering, *Ahuti* or food for *Agni*, cow, and crows. On all *tarpaṇam* days, their *purohīts* officiate as priests and there will be feeding.

Dasara.—Dasara is a great feast with them. On the first day of Aswiya, they instal their family deity Hinguladevi or Bhavāni and perform *pūja* to her daily for nine days, sowing and growing a *navadhānya* crop in front of the goddess and keeping *nanda-dīpam* or continuous light before the deity. Some elderly members of the family fast throughout those nine days, taking only water and fruits, or very light *palaharam* (refreshments). Ordinary meals are not

allowed during this fast or any other fast they observe. On the ninth day there is *Mahāmangalārathi* and also the worship of all weapons, (*Ayudha-Pūja*) and on the tenth day, Vijaya Dasami, the seeds which sprout and become tiny plants, are carried, and dropped into a tank by those ladies who are not widows. They also observe such feasts as Dipāvali, Lakshmi *pūja*, Bali-pādyami, Ratha Saptami, Sankrānti, Holi and several others.

They worship Ganga and other rivers, and bathe in rivers during *Tula* (November-December). They hold the following trees as sacred :—jambolina, fig, pipul, margosa, guava, and *tulasi* and offer *pūja* to the *tulasi* and *asvatha*. They celebrate the marriage of *tulasi* growing in Brindāvanam on Uthāna Dwādasi day, and invoke the blessings of Srī Krishna on the family. There are no deities peculiar to women and children among them.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The Dārzis both bury and burn the dead, but cremation is the more popular form for disposal of the dead. Those that practise burial carry the dead in a sitting posture in a *vimāna* of bamboo work, and bury in that posture. After the dead body is placed near the grave, the chief mourner after touching the big toe of the dead body, is shaved. The dead body is laid in the grave with the head towards the east. On the grave a stone is set in the form of a *linga*. A *tumbe* plant is placed or planted near it. Three cubits of the shroud are rolled into a rope and lighted. The chief mourner goes round the grave three times with the torch and lays it on the grave. Looking at the sun they beat their mouths. The same procedure is adopted in the case of cremation, but the corpse is laid on the pyre with its head turned towards the south. They all bathe in the river or tank close by, and return home where they look at a light kept

burning on the spot where the deceased breathed his last. A vessel filled with water is also kept near the spot, and all have to touch it. No cooking is allowed in the house of the deceased, but, for the day, cooked food is generally brought to the inmates of the house by their relatives. Funeral oblations are made during the days of mourning. On the eleventh day the inmates of the house and the agnates bathe so as to be free from pollution. The chief mourner places the *pinda* (rice-ball) offerings on the grave, and stands at a distance waiting to see whether crows are taking them in which case he feels satisfied that the spirit of the dead has taken it, as otherwise he thinks it forebodes some calamity. The mourners then touch the balls with *darbha* grass shaped like a crow, and return home. On the next day, they perform what is called *Vaikunta Samārādhana* which brings the ceremonies to an end. During the first year, the chief mourner performs monthly ceremonies on the day of death, and at the end of the year the annual *śrāddha*. This is said to be optional. They perform a *śrāddha* on Mahālaya Amāvāsya. The chief mourner and the agnates observe pollution for ten days, and the distant relatives, only for three days. Only a bath is necessary for the death of a daughter's son. During the days of pollution, flesh, milk and liquor are tabooed. The caste mark is forbidden.

Tailoring and dyeing are the two main occupations of the Dārzis. Some have cloth shops with which tailoring is also combined. Their women also do the tailoring work by stitching *ravikas*. Dārzis dye turbans, bed-sheets and dhōties worn by men. Formerly they used to print chintz very largely, but of late this industry has suffered much from foreign competition.

OCCUPATION

The following process of making dyes is in vogue in the Bijapur district and it is common in the State also. In the preparation of dyes, the Dārzis make a solution of safflower powder, soda and the ash of plantain trees, and lemon juice. Soda and the ash are used in the proportion of half a pound of soda to eight pounds of safflower and the mixture is just strained in an open-mouthed vessel with two gallons of water. The solution is kept aside to prepare different colours. To the sediment left behind, half a pound of soda ash is added, and the whole again is strained with water. This solution mixed with a little of the first strained one, gives a red colour. To the red-dye a turban is coloured with a solution of turmeric powder, and then steeped in the deep colour and wrung dry. If the tint is dry, it is brightened by dipping the turban in lemon juice mixed with water. To dye purple, the cloth is first dyed with indigo and is then steeped red. To dye light pink, the cloth is steeped in red with lemon juice and a quart of water, and to dye pink, the quantity of the red solution is increased. To dye orange, the turban of cloth is dyed with a solution of turmeric, and is then steeped in a solution of red. To dye dark red, the cloth is steeped in a solution of indigo and then in red. In dyeing yellow, the turban is kept for half an hour in turmeric and soda. If less turmeric powder is used, the colour becomes paler. Green is produced by a mixture of indigo and turmeric with lemon juice. Of late, all coloured powders are imported from foreign countries.

The Dārzi is to the European, one of the best known of all castes. He is on the whole a capable workman, and especially good for copying from a pattern. His proficiency in this respect attracted notice so long ago as 1689 as shown in the interesting quotation in the Bombay Gazetteer, referring to the tailors of Surat.



DARJIS AT WORK.

"The tailors here fashion clothes for the Europeans, either men or women, according to every mode that prevails, and fit up the commodes and towering head-dresses for the women with as much skill, as if they had been an Indian fashion, or themselves had been apprenticed at the Royal Exchange. The commode was a wire structure to raise the cap and wire. Since then the Dārzi has no doubt copied in turn all the changes of the English fashion. He is a familiar figure in the verandah of the houses of Europeans, and his idiosyncracies have been delightfully described in *Eha* in "Behind the Bungalow." His needles and pins are stuck in the folds of his turban, and *Eha* says that he is bandy-legged, because of the position at which he squats on his feet while sewing. As a rule the tailors sew in their own houses, and in the tailor's shop may be seen workmen squatting on a palm-leaf mat on cotton-stuffed quilts. Sometimes the wives and sons' wives of the head of the establishment sit and work in the shop along with the men. Their busy time is during the marriage season."

Some among them are traders, and very few now are engaged in agriculture. The youngmen of these days enter into public service.

The Dārzis rank high in the social scale or caste, as only next to Okkaligas. They eat in the houses of Brāhmans, Lingāyats and Jains, but not in those of Kōmatīs and Devāngas. They do not admit outsiders into their caste. Some among them neither take food nor drink water except from those who are Brāhmans.

SOCIAL
STATUS.

Dārzis are slight-made men, of average stature, fair and round-headed. They are found in all shades of complexion. Their sedentary work tells much on their constitution. Their caste costume is a long coat extending up to the knees, and a *panche* (loin dress) and a turban of forty cubits long. They create a kind of fashion in the dress of other people. Their women wear the sārī without passing it through the legs. They are fond of

APPEARANCE,
DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS.

colouring themselves with turmeric, and of marking their foreheads with *kunkuma*. They are generally cleaner in their appearance, and are also handsome. A long nose-ring is the characteristic ornament of their women. The design used is an ordinary one.

CONCLUSION. The Dārzis are an occupational caste, tracing their origin to their having been Kshatriyas at one time. They are the descendants of the immigrants from the Bombay Presidency, and are found all over the State. Their manners and customs are mostly like the high caste non-Brahman castes. As dyers and tailors, they have been all along skilful, but they have given up dyeing because of their inability to compete with chemical dyes. Some have taken to agriculture, and some again to public service. They are, on the whole, a thriving community.

DĀSARI.

ORIGIN OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—
MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS—MARRIAGE CEREMONIES—PUBERTY
CEREMONIES—PREGNANCY AND CHILD BIRTH—POST-NATAL
CEREMONIES—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—
INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE COUNCIL—RELIGION—
FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—
DRESS AND APPEARANCE—CONCLUSION.

DĀSARI, a caste of mendicant Vaishnavas. The name Dāsari does not designate any particular caste, and is applied to all persons who enrol themselves as such from any of the non-Brāhman castes. The recruits are from the castes of the Banajiga, Kuruba, Vokkaliga, Sāle, Tigala, Golla, Beda, Besta, Odda, Holeya and Mādiga. In the Mysore Census Report of 1901, they are described as mendicants belonging to the different classes of Sūdras, and are found all over the State, more argely in the districts of Kolar, Tumkur and Chitaldrug, as also in those of North Arcot, Anantapur, Tanjore and Madura of the Madras Presidency.

The Dāsaris are said to be the descendants of a wealthy Sūdra of one of the northern districts, who being devoid of offspring vowed, that if he should be blessed with children, he would devote one to the service of God. He had subsequently many sons, one of whom he named as Dāsan or Dāsari (servant) and placed him entirely at the disposal of the deity. A Dāsan was not allowed

ORIGIN OF
THE CASTE.

to participate in his father's estate, and his male descendants are therefore beggars.* Dāsaris are said to be the offspring of a Banajiga disciple of a Vaishṇava saint Ekāṅga Rangaswāmi and a Kuruba woman. This disciple used to carry flowers to his *guru* or preceptor in a basket (*kudang*), and hence the name was given to his descendants. They are said to have migrated into the State from the neighbouring taluks of Hindupur and Penukonda. They are the Dāsas or servants dedicated to God at Tirupati, by virtue of a vow made either by themselves or their parents in times of some anxiety or danger, and they live mostly by begging in his name. Further in certain castes the eldest son in a family is bound to take a vow in fulfilment of which he goes about the streets singing *Harikirtanams* [songs in praise of Hari or Viṣṇu] with a gong and a conch to relieve the dull monotony.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

Dāsaris speak Telugu and Canarese. They are described as mendicants recruited from the castes above mentioned, and do not therefore form a caste. In different taluks they are known by different names, as for instance, Samegar, Nāmadhāri and Sanivāra Dāsaris in the Devanhalli Taluk. Besides, there is another group known as Yallam Dāsaris in the Srinivāsapur Taluk. It becomes difficult to enumerate the chief endogamous groups and sub-groups contained in them. It is said that Dāsaris do not constitute a caste, and yet the following endogamous groups are recorded in the Census Report of 1903. They are.—

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Gudama Dāsarū, | 3. Dharma Dāsarū. |
| 2. Dombi Do | 4. Sankhu Do |
| 5. Chakravarty Dāsarū. | |

* North Arcot District Manual, page 121.

Besides these, there are also other endogamous groups,* namely.—

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Dēsabhāga Dāsarū, | 4. Bindige Dāsarū, |
| 2. Kattari (scissors) | 5. Nāmadhāri Dāsarū, |
| Dāsarū, | 6. Sanivāra Do |
| 3. Āta (play) Dāsarū, | |

It is not certain that these names actually denote different divisions.

Dombi Dāsarū are so called on account of their dancing in a group. The term thief or Donga has no reference to any criminal propensity, but is apparently applied to devotees who fail to visit the holy shrine at Tirupati for three generations. In that case, they are known as Donga Kāpu, and are, for ever afterwards, prohibited from ever visiting the shrine. Bindige (waterpot), like Kattari, has reference to what they carry, when going for professional work.

Gudama Dāsaris are said to have the following sub-groups, namely :—

1. Dēvarakundavāru; named after the place to which they originally belonged. The members of this division were weavers by caste.

2. Mailaganollu; so called because of their forefathers who tilled the ground near the hill of the same name. They were probably recruited from the Sātāni Vaishnavas.

3. Tātollu; Tāti—A palm Tree. The members of this division regard the palm tree as sacred, and they abstain from cutting or using it. They do not write on them, nor read what is written on them. They are named after Setti Banajiga.

* The word Dāsa means a servant, and the Dāsās dedicate themselves to the service of God. The plural of Dāsan is Dāsarū which is often used as the name of the fraternity.

4. Yeddulollu; named after Sajjana Okkaliga, from whose community the members were originally recruited.

5. Pallipainollu; the members were originally recruited from the Yerragollas.

**EXO-
GAMOUS CLANS.**

The family groups of Dāsaris are similar to those of the caste from which they are recruited. The following are some of their exogamous divisions, namely, 1. Settiyavāru from Banajigas,* 2. Valmikāru from Bēdas and 3. Jirigayavāru, Muchchalōru and Mundalōru. The following are the exogamous sects of the Gudam Dāsaris namely, 1. Palunthu with the house name Andivandalu. The members of this division do not make use of *palunthu*, a rope-net-work in which pots and utensils are kept. 2. Pagadipālu or Pagdālu. The members of this division do not make use of *tangati* plant (*Cassia auriculata* Linn). 3. Pasubaletti, 4. Śrījānakalu, 5. Mallichetti, 6. Ummettu, 7. Tamātam, 8. Pulagōtra and 9. Yeddulollu.

**MARRIAGE
PROHIBITIONS.**

Marriage is endogamous so far as the divisions are concerned. It is exogamous so far as the *gōtras* are considered. There is no intermarriage between the members belonging to *Pulu gōtra* and *Pagadālu gōtra* and Yeddulollu; and between those of Yeddulollu and *Pagadālu gōtras*. In contracting marriages there are no peculiarities in the table of prohibited degrees of relationship. One account gives it, that even a younger brother's daughter may be

* The names 2 and 3 in the above list are totemistic. Every Dāsari is a Tēgalai. They have sub-divisions called Baliḷi Janappa, Palli, Valluva, Gangedolu and Golla Dāsaris which neither eat together nor intermarry. As these are the names of existing and distinct castes, it is probable that the Dāsaris were formerly members of those classes, who through vows of idleness, have taken to a mendicant life. Beyond prohibiting widow re-marriage, they have no social restrictions.



DASARI MARRIAGE CEREMONY

married, but this does not seem to be a fact. Gudami Dāsaris are said to contract marriage alliances with the members of Kuruba, Okkaliga and Uppara castes. Exchange of daughters between two families and the simultaneous marriage of two sisters by the same man, are also permitted. The bride's price varies from 12 to 20 rupees. A widower is required to pay twice the amount.

Marriage customs among the Gudama Dāsaris begin with the *Vakkalu Sāstram* or the betrothal at which certain auspicious things are placed in the folds of the girl's dress. The caste *purōhit*, and the castemen assemble in the bride's house, and receive *tāmbula* (betel leaves and areca nuts) called *Sakalu*, to testify that a formal negotiation has been made, for the marriage. In the event of one of the parties breaking the contract, the one that breaks the contract will have to bear the expenses of the other in addition to the payment of a fine of four rupees. The marriage ceremony always takes place in the house of the bridegroom, and generally begins on a Saturday, when the household deity is first worshipped. The bride's party is lodged in a separate house. The bridegroom's party meets them at an auspicious hour with jewels, wedding costumes and other articles to be presented to the bride, who accepts them along with a yellow coloured string of a hundred strands. The bridegroom's party of nine persons return home after the partaking of a feast provided for them. The bride's party are also treated to a feast in the house of the bridegroom on Sunday morning. The *araveni* pots are brought in along with a *kalāśa* (a pot of water), and the son of the maternal uncle brings the milk-post cut from a fig tree. The pots are usually supplied by the potter who receives five seers of rice, one seer of *jola*, one

MARRIAGE
CEREMONIES.

hana and four annas and eight pies. The marriage *pandal* is put up with the milk-post as one of the pillars, all of which are covered with yellow clothes brought by the washerman. In the evening three married women are engaged in preparing sweet cakes out of five seers of rice flour and five seers of *jola* freshly pounded by them. Each of them is presented with twelve cakes. The remaining ones are preserved for the next day, when after dinner they are distributed to the womenfolk. On the morning of Monday, the bridegroom is taken to a watercourse for a bath, where Ganga (the water goddess) is worshipped, and on their return home two married women carry two vessels of water while walking on clothes spread on the ground; and these are placed in the *pandal* and covered with lids over which are placed a cake, betel leaves and areca nuts. *Pūjas* are performed for them. The next item of the ceremony is the *Kāsi-yātra* or the pretended trip to Benares, after which the two parties meet at the temple and exchange *kalasās*. The Pinnapedda ties five annas four pies at the corner of the garments of the bridal pair, and knots together the ends of their garments. They are then led to the *pandal* in procession, the bridegroom leading the bride. In the *pandal* they stand facing each other, when the Pinnapedda puts the rings on the toes. The wristlets are then put on by the married couples, and the *tāli* is then tied round the neck of the bride. The elderly members assembled there, bless them by throwing rice on their heads. They go round the milk-post near which the light *bojjebana* is kept burning. The bridal pair take their meals from a common dish only after observing the star, Arundhati. Nāgavalli takes place on the next day. The married couple sit together, when the village barber touches them, and repeats the *gōtra* of the couple.

He receives one *hana* and a turban for his services from the parties as also a few annas from the assembled guests for the purpose of averting the potency of the evil eye. Twelve balls of earth from an ant-hill are placed near the pots in the *pandal* one at each post. The bridegroom with a *tamburi*, and the bride with a wallet, go round each post singing songs and receiving alms of nine kinds of grains from a man stationed at each post. The grain thus collected is brought to the milk-post, and sown in earth rendered soft and moistened with water. For the pot-searching ceremony, a nose ring and a finger ring are put in a pot by the Pinnapedda. If the bride picks up the finger ring, the first child is expected to be a male, and if it is the nose ring, it is expected to be a female. The *śimhāsana pūja* takes place on the next day, when betel leaves and areca nuts are given in order, to the Gudigad, the Pinnapedda and the Kondigadu and the assembled guests. The *pandal* is pulled down a week after the event.

Among the Gudumi Dāsaris, a girl attaining the age is kept in a shed covered with *akole* (*Alangium-lamarcki* Waitz), and margosa leaves (*Meli azadirachta*) from three to five days. The girl is fed on unsalted *huggi* (rice boiled with any kind of pulse). *Arati* is performed every evening, and she is kept awake all through the first night. On the fourth or the sixth day morning the shed is pulled down, and its materials are carried to a distance and burned there. On the spot where the shed originally stood, a fowl is sacrificed, after which the girl is bathed. The consummation of a married girl may take place on any auspicious day thereafter. In the case of a girl married after puberty, it should take place only three months after the marriage.

PUBERTY
CEREMONIES.

It is no disgrace for a girl to attain womanhood before marriage.

**PREGNANCY
AND CHILD-
BIRTH.**

No special ceremony is performed for a woman who is big with child, but her husband takes the following precautions for her safe delivery. During the period of her pregnancy, he abstains from killing, or cutting any animal and from carrying dead bodies. To bring about an easy delivery, various expedients are believed to be efficacious, and are resorted to. They are the wearing of charms, pushing a stone from its fixed position, firing a gun with blank powder, pouring on the woman's head two or three pots of water passed from hand to hand by women standing in a line.

Soon after delivery, both the mother and the baby are washed, and they are made to lie on a bed of straw with a bed over it. A small quantity of arrack pure or diluted with water is given to her as a stimulant. The ordinary precautions of hanging margosa leaves, old shoes and brooms to ward off evil spirits are also resorted to. The lying-in woman is purified by a bath either on the fifth, seventh or the ninth day after delivery, according to the local usage.

The name-giving ceremony for the child takes place on the same day. Either the names of the deceased ancestors or that of the Vaishnava deity is given to the baby. An opprobrious name is also given if one has already died. The following are a few of the names of males and females.

Names of Males.

Gurumurti.
Madasa.
Muniya.
Tiruvengadam.
Varadaraju.
Virabhadra.

Names of Females.

Amanavati.
Bali.
Gangi.
Lingamma.
Ramakka.
Venkati.

A widow is allowed to marry, under the *kudike* form, any one except her husband's brother. A *tāli* called *budda tāli* is tied round her neck. She has no claim thereafter on the property of her late husband.

WIDOW
MARRIAGE.

The husband may, on the score of misconduct, divorce his wife after the removal of her *tāli* and the payment of a fine of Rs. 2 to the castemen. If she likes, she may remarry, and the man who marries her under the *kuduki* form, must pay the marriage expenses of her former husband.

DIVORCE.

A girl may remain without marriage till the end of her life. Some girls are dedicated as Basavis. Adultery committed by a married woman is condoned by the payment of a fine known as *laghu dharma*. An adulterous woman is purified by receiving *Chakrāṅkitam*, *Tulsi Thīrtham* and by her tongue being touched with a piece of heated gold. An unmarried woman becoming pregnant by a man of the caste, is purified if her paramour pays a fine known as *kanya dharmam* and marries her. If he refuses to pay the fine he will be excommunicated, and she will be retained in the caste, if she pays a fine known as *laghu dharma*. If her seducer belongs to a higher caste, she will be subjected to a *Gōṣhti*. A married woman committing adultery will also be required to pay a fine.

There are no peculiarities in the law of inheritance. In cases of disputes about the property to be divided among co-parceners, if a party swears just after partaking a meal of milk and rice that he has practised no deceit, his statement is generally accepted. It is believed, that if he has perjured himself, he will either throw up the food at once or meet with some severe misfortune. To perpetuate

INHERITANCE
AND ADOPTION.

the brotherhood, the eldest son in the family is dedicated as Dāsari, and the rest are at liberty to follow any profession. In the absence of male heirs, boys are adopted, and they become Dāsaris.

RELIGION.

All Dāsaris are Vaishṇavas and adore Vaishṇava gods such as Tiru Appa, Narasimha, Hanumantha or Anjanēya. Their *gurus* belong to the Śrī Vaishṇava sect of Brāhmans or Sātānis who teach them to recite *ashtākshari*, eight syllable invocation to Nārāyana, brand them with the symbols of *sankha* (conch) and *chakram* (disc), authorise them to paint the trident mark (*nāma*) on their bodies, and present them with a piece of string of *tulsi* beads. They venerate the Brāhmani kite, deer, squirrel and monkeys, and when any dead bodies of these animals are found, they pick them up and perform funeral rites sometimes with great pomp. Saturday is the most sacred day for them, when they bathe, worship the god, the lamp-post (*garuda kambam*) and other insignia, offer them food, and live upon only one meal a day. Except on Thursdays the lamp-post is said to be worshipped by male members. Oaths are said to be taken after the symbols *sankha* and *chakra*, lamp-post and on the names of gods. Brāhman *purōhīts* assist them at the performance of auspicious ceremonies and Samārayas (*pūjaris*) at funerals.

It is said that there are 74 seats for *gurus*, *āchārya*, *purushās* and four *simhāsanaś*, namely, Thirumalāchāryulu, Nallanolu, Chakravarthi Bhattamwaru and Doddayachār, the last of which is at Sholingar. In the Mysore State, their *gurus* reside in Urukare, Chelūr, Hallekare and Holakallu. In addition to these *gurus*, they revere one of their elders under the title of Āzhvar to whom they pay their respects. The Brāhmans who



DASARIS LEADING A SACRED BULL.

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DASARIS LEADING A SACRED BULL.

minister to the wants of Dāsaris do not suffer in status among the other Brāhmans. When their *gurus* go out on tours, they are served by their brotherhood, and receive their dues.

The Dāsaris have their caste councils termed as *Kattēmanes*. *Kattēmanes* of Gudumi Dāsaris are those of Venkasoppu, Kunigal, Singareddipalli near Hindupur and what is known as Mailiganivani gatta. Each of these houses is presided over by a gudigādu under whom is a Pinnapedda (a junior or elder). Gudigādu temple-servants take cognizance of questions relating to caste, and issue a *Srī-mukham* or precept to his subordinate Pinnapedda who collects people. Matters involving disputes are decided by the number of votes, and when the votes are equal, the matter is left to be decided by their *guru* in their council in the course of his tour. The *guru* consults *Kattēmanes* and his decisions are final.

CASTE
COUNCIL.

Among the Kudumi Dāsaris, the following fines known as *maryādas* are levied.

Ghōshṭi.—When a member of another caste is admitted by the Dāsaris into their caste, the new member has to pay a fine of rupees twelve, half of which goes to the *guru* and the balance for the feeding of the castemen.

Moginālu Dharmam.—If a man goes away with another man's wife, the former is expelled from the caste. For re-admission into the caste the seducer must pay rupees forty-eight, half of which goes to

At the annual festival in the Kāramadi temple of the Coimbatore District, the Dāsaris carry large torches made of rags on which devotees pour ghee. Some say that many years ago, barren women used to make a vow to visit the temple at the festival time, and after offering Kavalam, have sexual intercourse with the Dāsaris. The temple authorities, however profess ignorance of this practice.

E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. II, page 117.

the aggrieved husband, rupees twelve to the castemen, and the balance to the *guru*. As this is paid to the legally married husband by her seducer, his children by the woman are said to belong to her husband.

Linga Dharmam.—This also is a kind of fine amounting to rupees twenty-four, levied from an adulterous woman or from her seducer if he marries the woman, one half of which goes to the *guru* and the other half to the castemen.

Kanyā Dharmam is already explained. Out of the rupees thirty-two levied, a fine of rupees twelve goes to the *guru*, and the rest to the castemen.

Sunāta Dharmam.—If a man says that he would spit on his adversary or beat him with his shoe, the former is fined annas eight for the mere statement. If the statement is accompanied by the act, he is fined rupees four; if a stick is used, the fine is said to be rupees twelve.

Donga Tappu.—A man who is convicted of theft is required to pay a fine of seven *mandalu* or fourteen rupees.

It is also said that ten or twelve *Dāsaris* form an association or group, the office bearers of which are *Samyagādu* and *Kondikeya* whose symbol of office is a *Kondikola*, (measuring five yards and five inches in circumference). He also possesses *vamsa dandam* of bamboo with five iron loops, three iron bits in each. They beg from all the four castes, but from the *Vaiśyas* they levy four pies per shop. During the *jatra* and other festivals, the disciples of *Dāsaris* offer food, and plantains in accordance with the vow made previously. The latter kind of offerings is technically known as *kavalam* or *manega* or *manisēva*. It is a performance of the *Dāsaris* at which they dance round a cloth on the ground on which eatables are put, and catch them with the mouth while they are dancing. They are

engaged to do so by *bhaktas*. *Kavalam* consists of plantain fruits cut into small slices, and mixed with sugar, jaggery, fried grain or beaten rice. The Dāsaris are attached to the temple and they wear short drawers with strings of small bells tied to their wrists and ankles. They appear to be possessed and move wildly about to the beating of drums. As they go about, the devotee puts some of the *kavalam* into their mouths. The Dāsaris eat a little, and spit out the remainder to the devotees who eat it. This is supposed to cure all diseases of children and others who partake it. In addition to *kavalam*, some put betel leaves into the mouths of the devotees. To become a Dāsari one has to go to one's *guru*, and get initiated into the secrets of *Tirumantram* (sacred *mantrams* or symbols), and get branded by the latter with the symbols of *sankha* and *chakra*. Persons thus initiated are the only true Dāsaris.

The five insignia of a Dāsari are the conch shell which he blows to announce his arrival; the gong which he strikes as he goes his rounds; the tall iron lamp with a cocoanut to hold the oil for replenishing it, which he keeps lighted as he begs; the brass or copper vessel sometimes painted with *nāmam* suspended from his shoulder in which he places the alms received; and the small metal image of Hanuman which he hangs round his neck.

The dead bodies are buried in a pit three feet deep, covered with plantain and betel or Tangadi green leaves. A *tulsi* plant is placed on a platform put up on the tomb. The feet of a *samaraya* (*pūjāri*) are washed over the grave, and a pair of sandals are presented to him. The period of pollution is eleven days for the death of *agnates*, and three days for their children who are near relatives.

FUNERAL
CUSTOMS.

It is said that for the death of near relatives, such as the death of one's maternal uncle, mother-in-law, and brother-in-law, no pollution is observed. During the period of *sūtaka* (pollution), they cannot render any service to devotees in making *pūjas* of the *Garuda kamba* (lamp post) or accepting food at their hands.

Among Gudumi Dāsaris, the corpse is washed and a mark put on its forehead, according to sex and condition (full *nāmam* for a male, vermilion mark for a married woman, and a single *tilaka* for a widow). It is placed in sitting posture on a bamboo frame. In front of it a spot is cleaned and the figure of a tortoise is drawn on it. Rice and dāl water are cooked on the spot and placed before the figure to which *pūja* is offered with *tulsi* leaves and the burning of incense. These offerings are taken by the *agnates* of the deceased as *prasāda*. After putting some betel leaves and nuts in the mouth of the deceased, the bier is carried to the burial ground. After entering it, the mourners retire to a toddy shop to take *thīrtham* (holy water) and on their return, revisit the spot where a lamp is kept lighted. They then kill a fowl, cook and indulge in drinking toddy, arrack and ganja (vulgarly called by them as *palu-venni*) and *allaru* respectively. Then worship is offered to the elders of the caste.

On the third day after death a shed is put up on the side of the bier. They repair to the spot with the articles of food and drink. A Sātani priest draws a figure of *chakram* on the grave, and the articles of food are served on a leaf. The priest recites *mantrams* and performs *ashtabandhana*. The food is then offered to the figure and distributed among the *agnates* present. The Sātani priest eats first, and then the others follow suit. The remains of the food left by the priest are partaken



DASARI WOMEN HAWKING BEADS

as *mahāprasāda*. On the twelfth night, the third day's ceremony is repeated on a grander scale in the house of the deceased. An *yede* is offered to the family god. They make an offer of food and drink to the *chakram*. These offerings are distributed among the assembled castemen. At dawn the principal *yede* is adored, and again the food served thereon is distributed. Early in the next morning the relatives eat the *chokkabhojana* (purely vegetable food) and depart. Unmarried women become *iragāraru* after their death, and for them on the third day a ceremony is performed. Sometimes a god is made in the name of the *iragāraru*, and kept for worship with the family gods once a year during the dark fortnight of *Bhādrapāda* or *Dasara*. All the deceased ancestors are represented by a *kalāṣa* and offered vermillion, turmeric paste, bodice cloth and *tāmbulas*. The *Srāddha* consists in the distribution of raw rations to Brāhmans.

The characteristic occupation of an initiated Dāsari is begging and officiating at certain ceremonies and dances for the benefit of the various clients of different castes, of the Vaishnava faith. Only one member of the family, generally the eldest son, takes up the profession, and the rest practise agriculture or a similar occupation of the Sūdra class. Saturday is considered to be sacred by them as they worship and fast on that day. Monday is a day of rest with them, and the bulls are not worked on that day. Before undertaking an agricultural occupation, building a new house or sinking a new well, they consult an astrologer who fixes an auspicious day for the purpose. On that day Ganēsh is worshipped, and then the operation is begun. When water is tapped in a new well the water goddess, Ganga, is worshipped. The sowing season for several crops

OCCUPATION.

is as follows:—gram and ragi up to *Māgha* rain, castor in *Rohini* and paddy in *Ardhra*. For scaring birds and averting the evil eye, they adopt the common expedients that are made use of by the other agricultural classes. After harvesting, they celebrate a feast to satisfy the field god or goddess presiding over the field crops.

**SOCIAL
STATUS.**

Dāsaris have the same status as the ordinary Sūdras. They are regarded as somewhat higher than the other members of the original caste—their function being akin to that of a priest. It is said that some of the Dāsaris refuse to take food from any but Brāhmans. Dāsaris may admit outsiders into their caste, if they belong to any of the higher castes by branding them with the sign of the *chakra*. Washermen, barbers and Bedas are not admitted.

FOOD.

Dāsaris take animal food, but avoid the flesh of the monkey, cow, horse, ass, snake, rat, crocodile, peacocks, and deer. Spirituous liquors are drunk. The Gudumi Dāsaris eat in the houses of the high caste Sūdras. The others eat according to the custom of their castes.

**DRESS AND
APPEAR-
ANCE.**

Dāsari women dress like the rest of the Hindu women. Vermillion on their forehead is either perpendicular or horizontal. The toe-rings and glass bangles indicate their married state. The practice of getting their bodies tattooed is common and the designations tattooed are conch disc, tulsi, altar flower, chariot, plantain tree; and the parts of the body whereon they are tattooed are the upper palms, shoulder, forehead, cheeks and chins. It is said that the object of tattooing is to enhance the beauty or to carry on one's person

the symbol of the god. Except when he is dressed, a Dāsari's costume does not differ much from that of other Hindus. They are not entitled to wear the sacred thread. When he goes for begging, a Gudimi Dāsari puts on a turban with a crescent-like thing on it, armlets, peacock feathers, *tulsi* beads, *Śrīchūrnam*, a coat, a pair of breeches or a *panche* round the waist. Besides the usual insignia which is common to all the Dāsaris, the Gudimi Dāsaris are said to possess twenty-eight other insignia of which a bell, a tiger's skin and *tulsi* beads are some of them. They also carry a pair of long horns and blow them either before the god, or during *jātras* and religious festivals or ceremonies. During *Jātras* and car festivals they visit the god with skewers passed through their cheeks as the fulfilment of a vow. The Dombi and Gudumi Dāsaris play in a crude way *Jalakrida* and Prahlāda stories and decorate themselves with pith crowns, shoulder and brass plates. They paint their faces with yellow ointment or sulphate of arsenic to conceal recognition.

From the foregoing account it may be seen that the Dāsaris are religious mendicants recruited from some of the Sūdra castes. They were and are even now devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu, and they act as priests to most of the Sūdra castes. During the eighteenth century, they united together and stoutly opposed the Telugu Mission in their exertions to convert the Hindus at Chickballapur, Devanhalli, Ikkeri, and other localities. Though they seem to have fallen from their greatness, they still retain their priesthood. Many go for alms. Their caste organization is even now very rigid.

DĒVĀNGA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF
THE CASTE—ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS—EXOGRAMOUS CLANS—
MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—
WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—POST-NATAL
CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—SOCIAL ORGA-
NIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—
SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUC- TION.

DĒVĀNGA is one of the castes that has weaving as its special occupation. Several such castes have been clubbed together as the *Neyige*, or weaving caste. This is inaccurate; because distinct castes having little in common are included in the generic term; namely, Dēvānga, Sāle, Bili-magga or Kuruvinavarū, Patvegar, Saurāshtra, Pattunūlkar, Seniga and Togata. Jādaru, which means weaver, is sometimes applied to them, especially in the western parts of the country.* They call themselves Dēvāngas, *i.e.*, born from the limbs of Gods.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE

In the beginning of the world, men went naked, and Brahma created Manu to weave clothes for them. The art was however soon lost when Manu attained *mōksha*, and people had to cover their shame with leaves and bark. The three Gods met in consultation, and Manu was re-incarnated as Dēvala, or Vidyādhara, from the eye on Śiva's forehead. Dēvala went to fetch the thread for weaving, which was obtained from the stalks of the lotus in the navel of Viṣṇu. Five Rākshasās,

* A spider is known as Jādra-hulla or the weaving insect.

headed by Vajradanta, attacked Dēvala, and wished to carry away the thread, obtained after severe penance (*tapas*). On his appeal for divine help to Śiva, Pārvatī appeared as Chaudēswari. The Rākshasās had secured a boon from the gods, that out of every drop of their blood which touched the ground, a thousand warriors should spring up to fight for them. To prevent this, the terrible goddess spread out her tongue, so as to cover the whole battle-field, and swallowed all the blood falling from the giants' wounds, and soon vanquished them. Some of the blood was used as colouring matter, and gave five colours (black, white, red, green and yellow). Thenceforward Chaudēswari became the tutelary deity of this caste. This Dēvala afterwards wove cloths, and presented them to the Dēvas, who, in appreciation of his services, gave him as wife Dēvadatta who is said to have been born from the fire-pit, in which the seven rishis performed *yajña*. Dēvala gave the cloths to the inhabitants of *Pātāla lōka*, and there obtained Nāgadatta as his wife. He gave cloths to men, and got Agnidatta from them for his wife. It is said that his personage had seven *avatāras* (incarnations) namely, Manu, Vidyādhara, Pushpadanta, Bhētāla, Vararishi, Daiva-sāli and Devadāsamayya, the last of which was Dēvala on a much higher position. Some say that he is the creator himself, and that the Gods of the Triad are his *chēlas* or pupils.

Some of this caste claim the rank of Brāhmans,* and style themselves Dēva Brāhmans (Divine-Brāhmans), the Brāhmans proper being distinguished as Go-Brāhmans (Cow-Brāhmans). Others are however satisfied with the rank of Vaisyas. The former statement was based on the verse composed by a Dēvānga priest.

* Thurston, E.—*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. II, page 156.

"Manu was born in Brāhman caste,
He was surely in the Brāhman womb,
There is no Sūdrism in this caste,
Dēvānga had the form of Brāhmans."

The following account is given of their origin in the Baramhal records.*

"When Brahma, the creator, created the *charam* and *āchāram*, or the animate and inanimate creation, the Dēvatās or Gods, Rākshasās or evil demons, and the human race were without a covering for their bodies, which displeased the God Nārada, or Reason and he waited upon Parameswara, or the great Lord, at his palace on the Kailāsa Parvata, the mount of Paradise, and represented the indecent state of the inhabitants of the universe, and prayed that he would be pleased to devise a covering for their nakedness. Parameswara saw the propriety of Nārada's request, and thought it was proper to grant it, and whilst he was so thinking, a male sprang into existence from his body, whom he named Dēva Angam, or the body of God, in allusion to the manner of his birth. Dēva Angam instantly asked his progenitor, why he had created him. The God answered "Repair to Pāla Samudram or sea of milk, where thou wilt find Śrī Mahā Vishnu, or the August Mighty God Vishnu, and he will tell thee what to do." Dēva Angam repaired to the presence of Śrī Mahā Vishnu and represented that Paramēswara had sent him, and begged to be favoured with Vishnu's commands. Vishnu replied, "Do you weave cloth to serve as a covering to the inhabitants of the universe?"

Vishnu then gave him some of the fibres of the lotus flower that grew from his navel, and taught him how to make them into cloth. Dēva Angam wove a piece of cloth and presented it to Vishnu who accepted it, and ordered him to depart and to take the fibres of trees and to make raiment for the inhabitants of Vishnu lōka or Gods. Dēva Angam created ten thousand weavers, who used to go to the forest and collect fibres of trees, and make them into cloth for the Dēvatas or Gods and the human

* Section III, Inhabitants, *Madras Government Press*, pages 179-90.

race. One day Dēva Angam and his tribe went to a forest in Bhūlōka, or the earthly world, where he was attacked by a race of Rākshasās (giants). He thereupon waxed wrath, and unbending his *jata* or long plaited hair, gave it a twist, and struck once on the ground. In that moment a Śakti, or female Goddess having eight hands, each grasping a warlike weapon, sprang from the earth, attacked the Rākshasās and defeated them. Dēva Angam named her Chaudēswari, or Goddess of the air, and as she had delivered his tribe out of the hands of the Rākshasās, he made her his tutelary divinity.

Neyige is the term applied to the silk and handloom weavers of the State, namely, Bili-magga, Dēvānga, Khatri, Patvegar, Sāle, Sourāshtra, Seniga and Togata. There is neither intermarriage nor interdining between these castes.*

MAIN DIVISIONS.

Neyige including all the divisions, numbered at the last Census, 101,694; 51,141 being males and 50,553 females. The figures for Devāngas are not available.

POPULATION.

Endogamous Groups.—The Devāngas found in the State are divided into four endogamous groups, namely, 1. Sivāchār Devāngas, 2. Kannada Devāngas, comprising Siryadavaru (of Sira) and Hadinentu Maneyavaru (of eighteen houses), 3. Telugu Devāngas and 4. Hatagāraru. The Sivāchār Devāngas appear to be converts to Lingāyatism from the other Devāngas; but they say that they have been Lingāyats from the beginning, and that the other divisions must have become degraded by losing the linga. This however seems to be the reverse

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

* *Mysore Census Report 1911*, page 173.

of what has actually occurred. The Kannada and Telugu sections were at first merely linguistic divisions, but have crystallised into separate endogamous groups. The sub-division Hadinentu Mane-yavaru (those of eighteen families) among the Kannada Devāngas, owes its origin to a secession from the main groups of those who adopted some heterodox practices. There are two derivations given to the term Hatagāraru. One is that they are the handloom weavers, *hat* meaning hand, and the other, that they are stubborn or obstinate, referring to the following incident.

At one time all the Devāngas were Lingayats; subsequently one of their members became a religious preacher, and induced them to give up the *lingam* and wear the sacred thread instead. Those who obstinately stuck to the new form of religion were known as Hatagāraru. Some of the Hatagārarus however appear to have latterly gone back into Lingayatism, because there are Lingayat and non-Lingayat Hatagārarus.

**EXOAMOUS
CLANS.**

Kannada Devāngas, Telugu Devāngas and Hata-gārarus have exogamous groups some of which have names borrowed from objects considered sacred. Along with these, are what they call *bedagus*.

LIST OF EXOGAMOUS DIVISIONS.

1. Kannada Devangas.

<i>Kannada.</i>	<i>Meaning of term.</i>	<i>Kannada.</i>	<i>Meaning of term.</i>
Ambali	.. Gruel.	Dabbe	.. Bamboo.
Arivana	.. A pot.	Doddatala	.. Large head.
Banna	.. Colour.	Guddina	..
Basapatra	..	Hosakere	.. Name of a place
Bale	.. Plantain.	Kallukote	.. Do
Belli ..	.. Silver.	Kanakana	..
Benne	.. Butter.	Kadaga	.. A wristlet.
Chokkamaru	..	Kachohoru	..



DEVANGA BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM.

Kannada Devangas—concl'd.

Kannada,	Meaning of term.	Kannada.	Meaning of term.
Koranalli	..	Ontemme	.. Single she-
Machche	.. A mole or mark.		buffaloe.
Mande	.. Head.	Pettige	.. Box.
Madeva	..	Punagu	.. Civet.
Muchchala	.. Lid.	Roddagarra	..
Muremme	.. Three she-	Sappe	.. Insipid.
	buffaloes.	Sanje	..
Muttu	.. Pearl.	Sobagu	.. Ornamentation.
Ondu Mātu	.. One word.	Totlu	.. Cradle.
		Vambale	.. Areca flower.

2. Telugu Devangas.

Anumalu	.. <i>Dolichos lablab</i>	Jilkara	.. Cummin seed.
	Lin.	Matham	.. Monastery.
Bandi	.. Cart.	Nalugu	.. Fous.
Bantha	.. Quilt.	Onti	.. Single.
Chimala	.. Ant.	Pichchiga	.. Sparrow.
Chinta	.. Tamarind.	Roddagari	..
Chapparam	.. Pandal	Santa	.. Fair.
Dude	.. Cotton.	Sajja	.. <i>Holcus spicatus</i>
Duggani	.. A two-pie piece.		Roxb.
Enumala	.. Buffalo.	Uddi	.. Black gram.
Goduma	.. Wheat.		
Haraka	.. <i>Psalupam</i>		
	<i>Scrobiculatum</i>		
	Lin.		

3. Hatagars.

Arasina	.. Turmeric.	Honnungura	.. Gold ring.
Devi ..	.. Goddess.	Kalasa	.. Vase.
Gadige	.. Pot.	Sakkare	.. Sugar.
Honnubagina	.. Gold.	Simhasana	.. Throne.

Marriage among the Devāngas of all divisions may be either adult or infant. A woman may remain unmarried all her lifetime, and there are some rare cases, in which women have led single lives, sometimes as religious ascetics. In recent times, however, infant marriages are becoming more popular, and are supposed to enhance the social status of the caste. The full funeral rites are not observed in the case of persons dying unmarried; but some of them get posthumous honours as *Iragāraru*.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.

In marriages, one has to seek a girl within one's own group, but outside the *bedagu* or *gōtra*. An elder sister's daughter may be taken, and is, in fact, considered the most proper person to marry, but the daughter of a younger sister may not be married. A man may marry his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter, but not the daughter of his paternal uncle and maternal aunt, as this relationship is regarded in the status of one's own sister. A man may marry two sisters, but not simultaneously, and two brothers may marry two sisters. Exchange of daughters is allowed and practised.

The boy's father, as usual, makes the first move. At this time the following omens are observed: on his arrival at the house, the first thing he does is to observe what omens occur, for, upon this good or bad aspect, depends the success of his mission. The good omens are a crow flying across the door of the house from left to right; a Brāhmini kite flying in the same direction; two married women coming in the opposite direction, the chirping of a lizard in a southern quarter. If one or more of these omens are observed, it is considered auspicious, and the match is concluded without hesitation, and presents of cloth are given to the girl. The preliminary agreement of *Vīlyada prasta* is much the same as in other castes. The marriage ceremonies generally take place in the boy's house.

One or two days before the actual beginning of the ceremonies, the boy and the girl to be married are smeared with turmeric in their own houses; and a feast is held in honour of their tribal Goddess (Chaudēsvari) and the family ancestors. Then the bride and her party set out for the bride-groom's house.

The putting up of the marriage shed on twelve pillars, the chief or the milk-post being brought

by the maternal uncle, the bringing of Arivēṇi pots and holy water by five married women, and walking all the way on clothes spread in the street, are the next items of the ceremony.

The next day, after the nail-paring and bathing in *malenīru*, the boy is taken to a temple, and seated on a *kumbly* (woollen blanket). The bridegroom's party pass and repass three times, carrying the marriage presents to the bride's house and then the bride's people go with a *kalasam* to welcome the bridegroom in the temple. Some turmeric paste is rubbed over him, handfuls of rice (*śāśe*) are thrown on his head, and he is taken in procession to the marriage *pandal*.

If the parties are not Lingayats, the *upanayana* takes place, and the boy gets his sacred thread, purification (*punyāha*) *hōma* and other ceremonies being observed as in other similar castes. Then the boy is taken to a *pipul* tree, where he is met by the parents of the bride, who wash his feet and bring him to the marriage *pandal* for marriage.* The girl is then brought there, and the bride and the bridegroom are made to stand facing each other, with a screen between them. The *purōhit* chants *mantras*, the screen is removed at the appointed hour, and the bridal pair put cummin seeds and jaggery on each other's heads. Then follow the *dhāre* or giving away the girl, the tying of the *tāli*, the rice pouring ceremony and the tying of the *kankanās*. Afterwards *pan-supari* and *dakshine* (money-gift) are distributed to all. The couple rise, walk seven times around the *hōma* fire, holding each other by the hand, with the fringes of their garments

* Among the Canarese Devāngas the bridegroom is lodged in a temple or in the house of a relative, whence he is led in procession to the marriage booth, and the Kāsiyātra ceremony takes place on the way. This formality is not observed by the Telugu Devāngas in the Devanahalli Taluk.

knotted together, go round the milk-post three times and worship *Arundhati*, after walking seven steps in the open air. Then they go to the *arivēni* room, and after bowing to the pots, return to dinner.* In the evening the couple are made to sit together before a gathering of married women and other relations and chew betel leaves and nuts, the bride handing over to the bridegroom and the latter returning the compliment.

On the second day, *Nāgavali* takes place. The couple bathe after nail-paring, and bring earth from an ant-hill, which they make into balls and place near the pandal posts and make *pūja*. Some married women are fed, and presented with *bāgina*. After pot-searching, the *kankanās* are removed. After a night's procession, the bride's entry into husband's house takes place.

Next day they bathe in *Okuli* water,† and the milk-post of the pandal is removed. The couple are then taken to the girl's village, and return after a day or two.

The bride-price is generally fixed at seven pagodas, or twenty one rupees, and sometimes nine rupees is also added. In some places it is said to range between one hundred and five hundred rupees. Some receive the price under the euphemistic term of *bhūri dakshina*, while others have almost given up the practice. As regards marriages also, there is no uniform standard. It is said that till the *dhāre* ceremony, the expenses are incurred by the girl's father, and then the boy's father has to pay for *dakshina* and give

* In some places, e.g., Channagiri, the couple sit before the *arivēni* pots and eat *buvru*. Food is served in two dishes, and the bride and her near relatives and the bridegroom and his relations sit at their respective dishes for eating it. At the end the bridegroom hands over a morsel to the bride which she eats. The bridegroom pays down eight annas to the bride's people who wash the dishes.

† *Okuli* is water coloured red with turmeric and *ohunam*. Those engaged in the sport or ceremony squirt this on each other.



DEVANGA FAMILY.

two dinners. A widower has to pay double the bride-price.

When a girl attains age, she is considered to be impure. She is bathed, and an *arati* is waved round her by married women. Being under pollution, she is under seclusion for ten days, either in a shed built of green leaves, or in a separate corner of the house, a twig of *Alangium lamarcki* being stuck up at the place to ward off evil spirits. In the evening, she is exhibited to the company of married women who do not touch her, and is presented with fruits, flowers, turmeric and *kunkuma*. She is during this time fed on nutritious food, and is not allowed to walk barefooted, and during night she is kept awake for fear of molestation from evil spirits. On the eleventh day she bathes, and the house is purified by the *purohit*, and the dinner given to their caste men. The girl, however, does not get rid of the pollution till the sixteenth day is over, when, if she is already married, consummation takes place. The latter ceremony is finished in one day. In the morning, the couple are anointed with gingelly oil and bathed after being washed with soap. In some places, they observe the ceremonies of the worship of nine planets, *hōma*, etc., but generally this is dispensed with. The couple are seated together at night in the company of their relatives and castemen, and they distribute *pan-supari* and cocoanuts before going to their nuptial couch.

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

With regard to widow marriage, the practice is not uniform. In some places, in Channagiri in the Shimoga District for instance, it is allowed and fairly common. In some other places, for example, Bangalore and Mysore Districts, the practice is

WIDOW-
MARRIAGE.

not allowed. In Madras, widow marriage is prohibited in some places and allowed in others. The custom appears to have been at one time very common, and has gradually fallen into disfavour. The following is quoted from the Baramahal Records, Page 183, Section III, a work written in the closing years of the eighteenth century:—

“In this section (Devāngas) widows are permitted to marry a second husband, but if she has children by her first husband, her parents are obliged to give nine *chakras* to them. When a person contracts himself in marriage to a widow, he only pays her parents thirty sultan fanams; if she has none living, the money is to be divided among her relations. If the widow has no children at the time of her second marriage, her parents have to pay six *chakras* out of the nine to the brother or the brothers of the deceased. The children of such a second marriage are received into the sect.”

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE

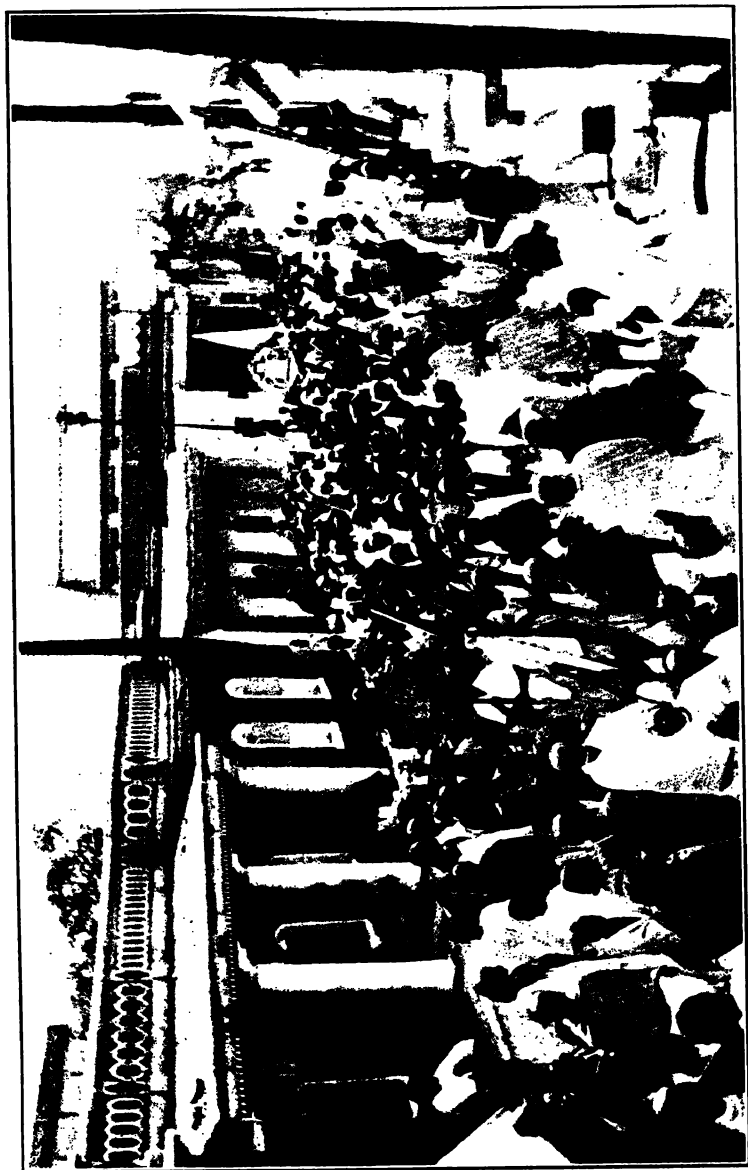
Adultery on the part of the woman is regarded with abhorrence, and she is thrown out of caste, and cannot be readmitted. Divorce is allowed only on the ground of the wife's adultery, and the divorced woman is not permitted to marry. Polygamy is allowed, but practised only in exceptional cases in the event of barrenness or incurable disease in the first wife.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

After childbirth, Lingayats observe no pollution, while the other Devāngas observe it for ten days. All however have a purifactory ceremony on the eleventh day, Lingāyats inviting a *Jangama* and others, a priest of their own caste. The invitation of Brāhmans for ceremonies has of late been given up. The ceremonies up to the name-giving are nearly the same as among corresponding castes.

INHERI- TANCE AND ADOPTI- TION.

When there is no male issue, they resort to adoption, and there is nothing special in the rules



A DEVANGA BHAJANA PARTY.

about the selection of the boy and the method of affiliation.

They follow the usual law of inheritance. In making partition of lands, it is considered correct to give the youngest son the eastern-most or the northern-most plot. Partition is usually effected before a *panchayat* meeting in the temple of the tribal god for the sake of ensuring honesty and truthfulness on the part of the rival claimants.

The Devāngas have *Kattēmanes* with jurisdiction over a limited area, and presided over by *settis* and *yajamans*. The beadle of the caste is known as *mudre manushya* (signet man). These *Kattēmanes* take cognizance of matters over which courts established by law have no authority.

SOCIAL
ORGANI-
ZATION.

The caste has its class of dependants, or *Hale Makkalu*, who go by the name of Singadavāru, or hornmen. They are said to wear both a *linga* and a sacred thread. Their *guru* has always one of this class among his followers on his tours of visitation. The Singadavāru are also rewarded with presents raised by contribution whenever they visit *Devānga* people independently. They are said to be the repository of the history and tradition of this caste like *Bhats*.

The Lingayat Devāngas are strict Śaivas. Other Devāngas worship both Viṣṇu and Śiva without any distinction. All have family gods of either Viṣṇu or the Śiva group. They worship also the village gods and goddesses Māramma, Munīśwara and others. The distinction known as Dāsajana and Mullujana also obtains among them in some parts, the former being strict Vaiṣṇavas. Among the Mullujanas there are jōgis, that is, those that dedicate themselves to the worship of Bhaire

RELIGION.

Dēvaru of Chunchanagari (Nāgamangala Taluk). They undergo the ceremony known as *dīkshe*, when a Bairāgi of the Chunchanagari *matha* bores a hole in the lobe of the right ear with a knife. This individual has a whistle called *singanāda* suspended to his neck, and has to sound it whenever he performs *pūja*. There are none in Bangalore.

Their tribal goddess is known as Chaudēswari, and also as Bāṇa Saṅkari. She is held to be an incarnation of Pārvati who came down to help Dēvala when he was attacked by the Rākshasās while bringing down from Viṣṇu the thread for weaving. The image is kept in temples and also *kattemanes*. They have *pujāris* of their own caste, and the *yajmān* has charge of the idols at the *Kattemane*, where every year they have a festival lasting for three days in honour of this goddess.

They hold a special celebration on a much grander scale at intervals of five or ten years. The expenses which come to about two to three hundred rupees, are met by contributions from members under several *Kattamanes*. *Pandals* are raised in some large grove to accommodate the people, and the gathering continues for four or five days.

A number of young men, generally one from each family, are chosen as *alagu komāraru* (Sword Boys) who must remain in the *pandal* all through the festival without going to their homes. They are taken to bathe in a water-course, where they worship Ganga (water) and are smeared with turmeric paste and dressed in yellow clothes. They are brought back in procession, and purify themselves by drinking *gomūtra* (cow's urine) with turmeric and tying *kankana* threads to their wrists. They may not touch the cooked food, but should live on milk and fruits. In the evening these young men go in procession to a pond or well outside the town,

and after *pūja* to Ganga proclaim loudly that they will come there the next day to take water for the worship. Thereafter a watch is kept near the pond, and no one is allowed to touch the water.

Early next morning, the *alagu komararu* bathe, and dress in yellow clothes. The *settis* and *yajamans*, the *pujari* and other functionaries of the caste constitution, and all the caste-men * gather near the *pandal*, and go in procession with music to the consecrated pond or well. The *pujāri* sets up a *kalasa* in a dish, filling it with water taken from the pond or well, decorates with areca flowers and worships it. A blunt sword smeared over with turmeric is handed to each of these boys, who flourish them in the air and strike their chests with the edge of the swords. Then a large number of cocoanuts are broken, and the procession moves slowly to the *pandal*, where a *kalāsa* is installed and a sword is balanced over it. Exercises of swordsmanship are exhibited by the *alagu kumārarus* and the *pujāri*.

Next day a *Jyōti* or light is worshipped. The receptacle and the stand for the light are made of rice mixed with jaggery and cocoanut and pounded into paste. The rice for the purpose should be collected fresh from a field and by a person clothed in *madi* (clean state). Formerly this light was paraded throughout the village, but this practice is now discontinued on account of the light. It is said that it flew up a cocoanut tree and refused to come down till a human being was sacrificed. Consequently the light, the *kalāsa* and the swords are worshipped in the *pandal*.

Next day (i.e., the last day) jaggery water and soaked pulses are distributed among the caste people. After this, the *kalasa*, the light, and the swords

* It is said that no woman is allowed to go with the procession, lest casually her monthly sickness might occur and cause pollution by contact.

are taken in procession to the pond and there worshipped. Then the water in the *kalāśa* is emptied into the pond, and the light extinguished. The lampstand is broken up and the sweet paste distributed as *prasāda*. Afterwards all return to the *pandal* and have a dinner.

Another tribal god is Rāmalinga, to whom temples are built in large towns.

The Devāngas believe in oracles, omens and sooth-sayers and consult them.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

Devāngas bury their dead. The Lingayat or Sivachār Devāngas observe the ceremonies peculiar to the followers of that religion in disposing of the body, such as washing the feet of the *guru*, sipping the water, placing the body in the grave in a sitting posture, and the *guru* placing his foot on the head of the corpse. They observe no pollution, but perform the third and the eleventh day ceremonies. There are some Devāngas who are styled Tirunāmadhāries, or Dāsa Jana and these observe the ceremonies peculiar to that cult, inviting a Dāsayya or Sātani priest, and worshipping the *chakkra*. But the major portion of the Devāngas who are neither Lingayats nor Dāsa Jana observe the usual ceremonies. As soon as a person is dead, his body is washed and wrapped in a new shroud. It is carried in a lying posture on the shoulders of four men, and is buried with the face turned towards the south. After the corpse is disposed of, the party bathe and return home, and look at a light kept on the spot where the life expired. On the third day, the son, accompanied by some elderly relatives, goes to the burial ground, and bathing in a river, erects on the grave a small shed in which a figure of the dead is drawn. Food with vegetables is cooked there, and offered to

it after burning incense ; and is afterwards thrown to the crows. After they return home, the corpse-bearers have their shoulders smeared with ghee and milk and washed with soap-nut. All the agnates eat together. On the eleventh day, the agnates, including the son, bathe in order to get rid of the pollution. A *purōhit* is called in to purify the house. Then a *kalāśa* in the name of the deceased is set up and worshipped. Then rice, money, sandals, umbrellas and other articles are distributed. It is believed that the deceased may have the use of them on his journey to the other world. Generally a cow* is given away to the *purōhit*. Prayers are then offered for the salvation of the soul of the deceased. Then a party repair to the grave yard, burn incense and offer cocoanut to the deceased and also some rice boiled together with pulses. On their return, they go to a temple, offer worship to the god, and pray for the forgiveness of the sins of the deceased, and for the opening of the doors of Vaikūṇṭa.† Then a dinner is given to all the castemen in memory of the deceased. Pollution is observed for ten days for the death of an adult agnate, three days for that of an infant. There is no period of mourning for the death of a daughter's son or other relative ; in the former case they merely bathe. When under pollution, they do not put on their caste-marks, abstain from sweet things and milk, and suspend their daily work.

Devāṅgas do not generally observe *srāddhas*, but on the first anniversary of the day, they worship a *kalāśa* and feed their castemen. Recently some have taken to perform *srāddhas* on the day

* This is said to furnish a cow for the deceased for crossing the river of fire by holding its tail in his passage to *Yamalōka*, to receive his judgment.

† In some places this ceremony is observed on the next day which is styled Vaikūṇṭa Samārādhane.

corresponding with the date of death. For the propitiation of the ancestors in general, they observe the *Mahālaya Amāvāsyā*, and distribute *yede* in the name of the dead. In common with other castes of similar status, they observe the *huvilya* ceremony to propitiate deceased females who pre-deceased their husbands; and whenever she wears a new cloth for the first time, the second wife of a man distributes *pan-supari* and jaggery syrup, etc., to propitiate the spirit of the first wife.

OCCUPATION. Weaving is the chief occupation of the *Devāngas*. The following are the various appliances used in weaving :—

Warp.—It consists of a single or double threads not spun, prepared with boiled rice and water. It is mounted on two round bamboo poles at both ends supported on cross-legged bamboo sticks tied to a peg on the ground by means of a rope. It is arranged perpendicularly and extended on a frame by means of weights. The frame is fixed to the *achu*.

Bobbin.—It is called *lāle* and is made of horn with a longitudinal bore in the middle to hold the charged thread on a small needle.

Loom weights.—These are made up of new cloth bags filled with sand to the required weight.

The frame and its parts are.—

1. *Kunte*, which is made of teakwood, used to charge with the woven *saree*, etc.

2. *Plank*, which is made of wood (*Karaji* or *Chandana*), used for weaving.

3. *Mould*, which is made of bamboos used for holding the thread in place.

4. *Reed*, which is made of bamboo, used to regulate the number of threads.

5. *Middle rod*, which is made of bamboo to hold the warp in place.



DEVANGAS AT WORK.

6. *Lease rod*, which is made of bamboo for inserting cross threads.

7. *End rods or warps*, which are made of bamboo for fixing the warp.

8. *Peddles*, which is made of wooden planks. The weaver remaining at the bottom of the pit, the warp when peddled rises and falls for inserting cross threads, etc.

Lease rods.—They are made up of bamboos flattened with the ends more flattened; they remain cross-wise, and are used twenty-four in number for a length of twenty-seven feet.

Weft or woof consists of both single and double strands not spun. It is wound round a piece of wood which is inserted into the middle hole of the shuttle held there by a small needle. It is manipulated with the hand, and the shuttle is used to beat up the weft. It forms the active series which is inter-twined or woven.

Heddles.—The warp threads form the shed. Frame heddles are clear enough. Warp threads pass through the woof of the heddle frame.

Comb.—It is made of either wood or bamboo with thread and reed. The warp threads are previously passed through the reed by means of a needle. The reed is used to beat the warp.

If the cloth to be woven is to be of any length a frame of some kind is necessary. The simplest one consists of a single beam supported horizontally by its ends at a convenient height. From this beam the threads of the warp hang down. For short pieces of cloth, the warp may be set up with a single thread, which is passed in long loops over and over the beam, from which the hanging loops are kept stretched by a second beam which passes through them all, and is either supported by them, or held apart from the first beam by side pieces.

Sometimes, a special frame of parallel bars is used for setting up the warp, which is afterwards transferred from them to the actual loom. For continuous weaving of longer pieces of cloth, each thread of the warp is fastened separately to the beam. The free end of each thread is coiled on a reel or bobbin, the weight of which, sometimes aided by a separate loom weight, keeps the thread extended and vertical with the bobbins or weights hanging clear of the floor. To prevent the warp threads from becoming entangled, one or more lease-rods are inter-laced over and under alternate threads under the beam. These are specially necessary when the loom is a portable one, and when the work has to be rolled up and put away several times before it is finished. In vertical looms of this size, weaving begins where the warp threads are tied to the beams, and proceeds downwards till it approaches the bobbin. Then the completed part is rolled up on the beam, which can revolve on its support like a roller, and may now be described as the cloth-beam, and a fresh length of the warp is released from the bobbins till they hang once more just clear of the floor.

The Devāngas as a whole have weaving as their occupation, but they generally follow agriculture also, and sometimes make it their exclusive occupation when the former does not pay. The imported yarn is purchased and woven in hand-looms. Though it has suffered competition with machinery, it is carried on on a fairly large scale. The weavers are generally poor, and have to borrow from money-lenders to whom the finished products are mortgaged in advance. Government have been taking steps to introduce better looms and to encourage co-operation, and some amelioration has resulted in the condition of this large class of artisans. Still



DEVANGAS AT WORK.

the low returns of trade, combined with some improvident habits, have left them poor as a class, liable to suffer most in seasons of famine or scarcity.

Weaving in cotton is carried on in the Maidan districts of the Province. Nearly forty per cent of the industry is concentrated in the Bangalore District. Fabrics are from coloured yarn with greater or less admixture of silk. Next to Bangalore City, Doddballapur is the most important weaving centre, where it is said that there are more than 1,000 looms, 650 of which weave cotton *chires*, *keriges* with greater or less admixture of silk, varying from five to ten tolas for a pair of *chires*. It is also said that 300 looms prepare purely cotton bordered *chires*, *kerigas*, and that 50 turn out red handkerchiefs of two cubits square each.

Devāngas occupy a high position in the scale of the castes, claiming to be superior to Okkaligas. They even advance a claim to be regarded as Brāhmans, which, however, is not admitted by others. Formerly Brāhmans acted as their priests, but they are now being replaced by men of their own caste. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste, but those who have degraded themselves by irregular and improper practices may be admitted after purification.

SOCIAL
STATUS:

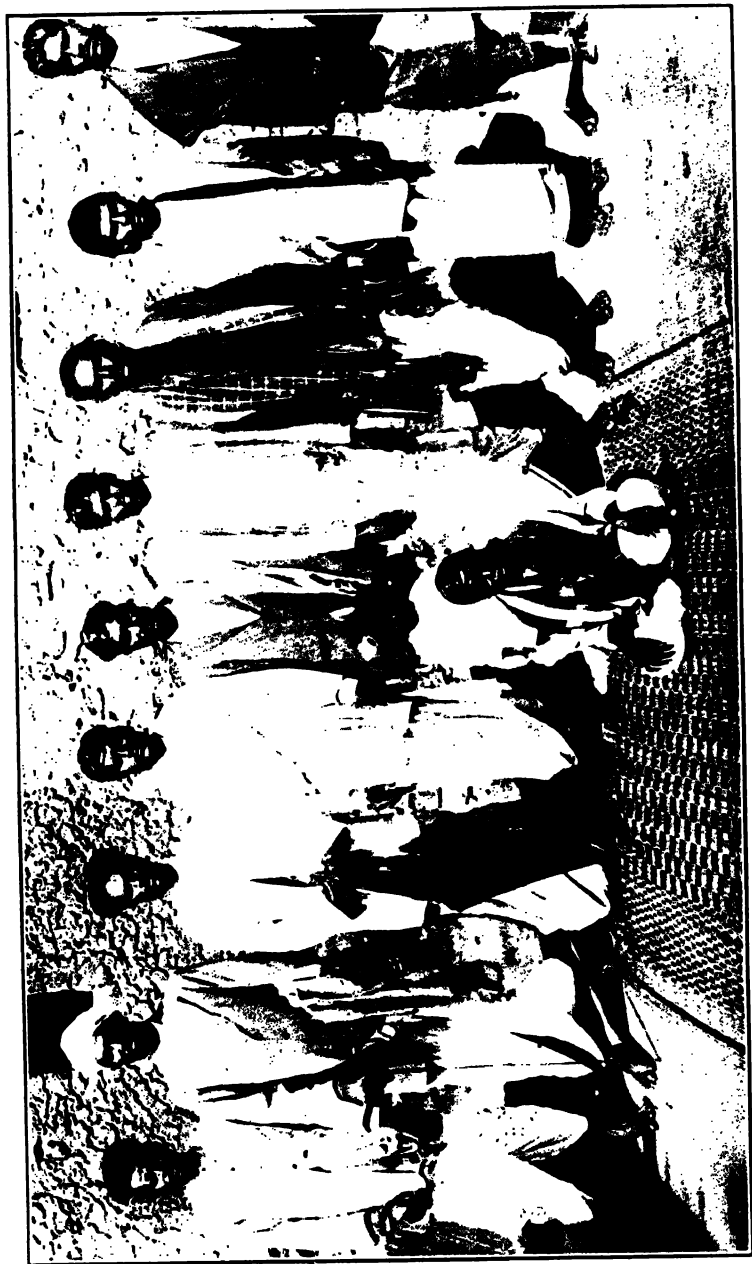
Devangās belong to the nine Phanās or the Left Hand group of castes. They have their own set of dancing women, who are prohibited from serving at assemblies of rival group of castes.

In the matter of food and drink, the Lingāyat Devāngas are vegetarians and teetotallers and the others are gradually approximating to that standard. The Lingāyat Devāngas and Jangamas dine with each other. Of the other sections, some eat in the houses of Brāhmans, and others refuse to do so.

FOOD.

CONCLUSION.

The Devāngas form only a division of the Neyiges (weaving classes) which consist of Togata, Sāle, Bili-magga, Seniga, Patavegar, Khatri, Saurashtra, all of which have crystallised into different castes with neither intermarriage nor interdining. Linguistically they are divided into two endogamous groups, namely, the Canarese and the Telugu Devāngas. The latter are again divided into two sects based on the worship of Vishṇu and Śiva, but the difference in religious worship is no bar to intermarriage, the wife always adopting the religion of the husband. Again, the Saivas who do not wear the *lingam* are different from those who do, and are on that account called Śivāchars. They are allowed a plurality of wives, who are liable to be divorced only for adultery. They offer bloody sacrifices to *Sakti*. Attainment of puberty is no bar to the regular marriage of girls. The caste is totemistic and have *gōtras* as well. The castemen have mostly weaving as their occupation, and make excellent clothes for men and women, but are unable to compete with machine-made articles. This leads some to leave weaving for some other work which is more profitable. Here Government help alone can save them in their skilful industry.



A MALE DOMBER GROUP.

DOMBAR.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
LANGUAGE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE—HABITATIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—DEDICATION OF PROSTITUTES—PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—TRIBAL ORGANIZATION—ADMISSION OF OUTSIDERS INTO THE CASTE—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

DOMBARS are essentially a wandering tribe, though like similar wandering tribes, such as Korachas, many of them have settled down in towns and villages. They are acrobats and tumblers by profession and are generally tall, muscular and well-made, with a complexion varying from shades of copper to dark. According to the last Census, they numbered 2,911, 1,390 being males and 1,521 females. They are, as a class, illiterate, and rarely show any inclination to send their children to school.

INTRODUCTION.

The common name by which the caste is called is Dombar, a later form of the original word Dombaru or Dommara. They have no other names in this State. In the Vizagapatam District of the Madras Presidency, they are known as Iṭevallu. They are described as people who exhibit different shows, such as wrestling, ascending high poles, and walking on ropes. The women act as common prostitutes.* The titles used by the headman of the caste are Reddi, Nāyadu and Naik. The

* *The Vizagapatam District Manual of 1869*, page 67.

suffix Gādu is added at the end of the personal names of males when addressed by persons of higher caste, while the common suffixes of Appa and Ayya are used for males when they are addressed either by persons of their own or of an inferior caste.

The meaning of the word "Dombar" is not clear. Some derive it from a class styled Doms in Northern India. The latter are however scavengers, and are employed to carry corpses of destitute paupers. They correspond to the Mādigās of the South, while their brethren in the South occupy a comparatively higher position. It can hardly be said that similarity of name is anything more than a coincidence. The Dombars are moreover a Telugu caste, and their traditions and customs point to their immigration into the State from the Kurnool and Nellore districts.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE
TRIBE.

A Reddi had, by his younger wife, it is said, a son who was born without any limbs. Ever after he was pursued by great misfortune; and a sooth-sayer, having on consultation discovered that the unfortunate child had brought ill-luck into the family, commanded his wife to do away with the child. Her maternal affection induced her to temporize, and she hid the child in a manger. Cattle unaccountably died in numbers, and a similar result was observed wherever the child was removed. In despair the mother handed over the child to a wandering beggar, to be disposed of in some safe place, and the latter consigned it to a ruined well. The unwelcome brat had, however, a rough life, and was not drowned. His cries attracted the attention of the Gods Pārvati and Paramēswara, who, on learning his unfortunate history, miraculously gave him his limbs, and at his request, bestowed on him a right to obtain an



DOMBER WOMEN IN DECENT DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

earthen drum from a potter's house, and doles of rice in each house to which he might resort for alms. The boy was so pleased at getting his limbs, that he jumped out of the well at one bound and cast himself at the feet of his divine benefactors.* He was then enjoined to add the profession of acrobatic performer to that of itinerant beggar. The Dombars are his descendants by a concubine he picked up in his wandering tours.

Another story is that a Reddi's wife delivered of a daughter in the field outside the village, whither she had carried her husband's mid-day meal. A hut was improvised for her accouchement, and after it was over, her husband's elder wife, out of envy, contrived that she and her child should be regarded as outcastes. The father gave all his lands and agricultural implements to the progeny of the other wife, and left to these a drum, a pole and a rope. They had to earn their living with these implements alone, and learnt acrobatic feats. No one would marry a girl playing in public on a pole, and so the daughter, called Dombara Chinna-sani, became a prostitute. This is said to account for the practice of dedicating prostitutes which is largely prevalent in the caste. A Dombar performer often begins his exhibition with the following invocation :— That is, the Kapu is the begetting father, the Dēsa man, an uncle, and I am the fit son† of the Sāla and Mūla (that is, right and left hand people).

* The doggerel appended seems to allude to this tradition, namely, with a backward bound (somersault) he came out of the well, and with a forward bound (somersault) he fell at their feet.

† Accounts differ as to the section of the Kāpu Reddis to which their original ancestor belonged. Some say Kodati Reddi, some Pakkanātis, some others Sajjana Reddis and so on, the section of the Reddis which they claim being that of the Reddis who are found in largest numbers in or about the place where the informants reside. This is of little importance when we remember that all the Reddis were originally of one tribe, and the sections named are the endogamous groups of the main caste of Reddis.

Dombars are said to be allied to Lambanis, a statement which perhaps is founded on the legend of Mōla, the ancestor of Lambanis, having performed gymnastic feats before kings. It is reported that there is a section of Dombars, who are also itinerant Dombars, but distinguished from the rest by the custom of swinging a child to and fro by a rope passed round its waist while performing feats on the pole.

The Dombars found in the State are entirely of Telugu origin, and appear to have come from the Nellore and Ceded districts of the Madras Presidency. They say that their original place was Bombara Maddalapuram in the Telugu country. During the time of the Vijayanagar empire, they appear to have been the Court acrobats, and many of this caste are still said to hold *inams* in the Telugu country, in places like Jammalmadugu, Tadipatri, Poddutur and Gudamacherla. They spread into Mysore territory in later times after the disappearance of that kingdom.

LANGUAGE.

All Dombars found in this State speak Telugu. Dombars who speak Mahrātti are rarely seen here. Mahommedans who follow the profession of acrobats and wrestlers are known as Pehlwanis, but they have no connection with the Telugu or Mahrātti Dombars.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE.

The Telugu Dombars, who are also known as Reddi Dombars are divided into two endogamous groups, namely, the settled (Ūru Dombars) and the nomad (Kādu Dombars). The wandering Dombars eat in the houses of the settled, but not *vice versa*. They seem to be subject to no exogamous restrictions; nor is any trace seen of hypergamy. But they all have, whether settled or nomadic,



DOMBER HUTS WITH WOMEN IN FRONT.

some sub-divisions which are neither endogamous nor exogamous, but which seem to be based on territorial or other distinctions. A list of these is given below.—

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Aisarapollu. | 12. Mallepuvvaaluvallu. |
| 2. Bhupativallu. | 13. Mannepulavallu. |
| 3. Gandhapurajuvallu. | 14. Matlivallu. |
| 4. Gopudasuvallu. | 15. Murarivallu. |
| 5. Jattivallu. | 16. Nadumulenivallu. |
| 6. Kaggadivallu | 17. Natakaranivallu. |
| 7. Kalabandivallu. | 18. Pallekondalavallu. |
| 8. Kanakaraddivallu. | 19. Somalarajuvallu. |
| 9. Kaserupuvallu. | 20. Sonduruvallu. |
| 10. Kasturivallu. | 21. Tolangivallu. |
| 11. Kutaravallu. | 22. Uppuvallu. |

Dombar houses are mere huts, somewhat similar HABITATIONS to those of the Koravars and Joghis. They are made of palmyra leaves plaited into mats with seven strands. The huts or *gudisays* are located on the outskirts of villages, and are carried on the backs of donkeys in their wanderings from one place to another. Stolen clothes unless they are of value, are not generally sold, but hidden on the backs of their donkeys to be worn after a time. Their furniture and domestic utensils are next to nothing, beyond a few earthen pots of their own making. Cooking is done mostly in the open air. A Dombar family is always occupied.*

Polygamy is common. Dombar women play a very active part in household and other kinds of work, and so men either marry or keep as concubines more than one woman. It often happens that low class women of loose character, married, unmarried or widowed, take the opportunity of the visit of a troupe of Dombars to join them, and attach MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS
AND CERE-
MONIES.

* *Vide Occupation.*

themselves to their party. Polyandry is unknown. Girls are trained from infancy to play on poles, and such as become skilled in that art, are not married, and lead a life of prostitution. Those who cannot be trained for such exhibitions only are reserved for marriage. It is not strange that in such a community, they almost never care to marry girls before puberty.

There is nothing peculiar as regards relatives who are eligible for marriage. According to one account, it is said that a man may not marry the daughter of his sister. Two sisters may be married either by one man or by two uterine brothers. There is no objection to an exchange of daughters by marriage between two families.

The Dombars who have settled down in towns and villages tend more to adopt the marriage customs and ceremonies of the higher classes, such as consulting Brāhmans and observing omens. Among the wandering section of them the marriage ceremony is very simple. They invite no pipers, use no *bhāshinga* or marriage chaplets, nor do they worship any sacred pots. And sometimes, they do not even put up a *chapra*, or marriage-booth. They only consult a soothsayer about the future prospect of a happy union.

When a girl is selected, the bridegroom's party, accompanied by the headman of the caste, proceeds to the bride's father's house, to propose the match. The headman conducts the negotiations; and if the parties agree, the match is determined thereon. A few days afterwards, the bridegroom and his party, with the *yajaman* and friends, go to the house of the bride-elect, and the proposal is renewed before the assembly of the castemen by the bridegroom himself, and consent is given by the bride's father. The fact is announced by the

yajaman, who proclaims that this man's daughter has been given to this man's son. Then one of the castemen beats a drum. Exchange of *tāmbulas* (betel leaves and arecanuts) is made between the parties, and the bridegroom's party supply toddy to the whole assembly. This is called the ceremony of arecanut and betel-leaves. At this meeting, half the bride-price has to be paid down, but if the bridegroom's party is very poor, a somewhat less amount is paid as earnest money. This makes the contract binding; and if the bride's party should afterwards break it, not only has this money to be paid back, but the promise-breaker has to pay a heavy fine to the caste. Among the wandering section, so strict is the caste discipline that the bride's father who breaks the promise, is dragged before the caste-assembly, which is specially called together, and made to carry grindstones and walk round and round the assembly. If, however, the father of the bridegroom, withdraws from the contract, he only forfeits the money already paid by him. On the completion of this preliminary ceremony, the marriage may take place either immediately or after some time has elapsed.

Among the settled Dombars, who are found only in a few places in the State, it is the custom to arrange for a number of marriages being celebrated together, and to proceed to their *kattēmane*, which is Tumkur, to celebrate them, before the temple of their tribal goddess Yellamma, and under the supervision and guidance of their caste headman. If, for any good reason, the marriage has to be performed at the place of either party, the caste headman or his representative must be sent for. In such cases, the marriage takes place, generally in the house of the bridegroom, and continues for three days.

On the day previous to that fixed for the marriage, the bride and her party arrive at the bridegroom's village, and are lodged in a separate house or shed. A *pandal* with only five pillars is erected, the central milk post being a twig of a Nerale tree (*Eugenia jambolina*) brought by the bridegroom's maternal uncle. In the *pandal*, the bride and the bridegroom are separately seated on pounding rods, and are smeared with turmeric. Then their gods *Sankalamma*, Gurumurthi and Yellamma, are set up in the *pandal*, and worshipped by the *yajaman*, with offerings of food and toddy. The bridal pair prostrate themselves before the gods, and touch the feet of their elders to obtain their blessing. In the evening, the bride and the bridegroom are seated together, and make *pūja* to two *kalasas* set up before them. This is followed by feasting and drinking.

Next day, early in the morning, the bride gets her nails pared, and the bridegroom shaves his face, and has his nails also pared. If no barber is available, the maternal uncle performs the service, and gets a *tāmbula*. Then the boy and the girl are made to sit face to face on two pounding rods, and are bathed, and then made to dress themselves in fresh clothes. The bride carrying some fruit and rice packed in her garments, is led along with the bridegroom to the marriage *pandal*, the boy holding a dagger rolled up in a handkerchief. They sit facing each other on two pounding rods, and between them are placed in a plate, the *kankanas* (wrist threads), *tāli* (marriage disc), five toe-rings with dry cocoanuts and other articles. The bride then puts one of the toe-rings of the second toe of the bridegroom's right foot, and the married women put the remaining rings on the bride's toes. Then each ties on the right wrist of the other, the *kankanas*,

which are made of woollen and cotton thread twisted together, and a betel leaf is tied to them. It is bound by the respective uncles of the bridal party in some places, or by one of the elders of the caste. The *tāli* is handed round in the assembly, and then put on the bride's neck by the bridegroom, while women sing songs. A drum is sounded, and a boy proclaims that the marriage has been completed.

All those in the assembly pour milk (*dhāre*) on the hands of the couple joined together; *talabālu* or the throwing of rice on each other's head follows. The pair, holding each other by the right hand, go round the milk post thrice, and then offer cocoanuts to the gods. On returning, they again sit on pounding rods, and pour into each other's hands some milk, which they drink. This part of the ceremony they call the milk-union. *Tāmbulas* are then distributed to all the assembled, the headman and his deputy being each given two. The couple and some relatives on each side sit together, and eat *burvam* from the same dish.

On the morning of the third day, called *Nagavali*, the newly married couple get their nails pared, and bathing and putting on fresh clothes, go to an ant-hill in state. They pour milk into the snake-holes and make *pūja*, burning incense, and offering fruits and flowers. The bride carries on her head a small quantity of earth, dug out of an anthill; and the *pandal*-posts are worshipped after their return. In the afternoon, after dinner, the *pūja* of *simhāsana* takes place. The *yajamān* of the caste, who is of the *Maṭli* sub-division among the wandering section, and of the *Sōmalarāju* sub-division among the settled, officiates at this ceremony when *tāmbulas* are distributed to the members present, who are so scrupulous and exacting that the

prescribed order of precedence is observed. On the evening of that day, the milk post is removed after the usual *pūja*, and the castemen and the bride's party are given a special treat, a large quantity of toddy being consumed.

The *tera*, or the bride-price, is fifty-two rupees. This is paid either at once or in easy instalments. The settled section have, however, reduced the sum to twenty-four rupees, which they generally pay down at the time of the marriage. Sometimes, when the girl's parents are in good circumstances, the payment is remitted either partly or in full. But the wandering Dombars are very strict in enforcing the payment. If the bridegroom is too poor to pay, he has to work for his wife's parents till he discharges the debt. If he evades payment, his wife is not sent to his house at all, and is sometimes married to another man, who may be able to pay the amount. It is stated that if the wife goes to her husband's house against her father's consent before the *tera* is paid, she is never again admitted to the latter's house. The obligation is enforced, by coercion at a caste-*panchayat*, and some accounts say that even after the man's death, his property remains liable to discharge it. Formerly, among the wandering Dombars, when a girl was married, the son-in-law had to live in his father-in-law's house, in a separate hut, till a child was born. This practice has fallen into desuetude.

The marriage-expenses are quite out of proportion to the poor condition of the castemen as a whole. During the period of marriage, five to ten pigs are killed to feed the guests and more than fifteen rupees is spent in toddy, and drunken brawls among the assembled guests are frequent. The expenses are shared by both the parties, but the bridegroom's party contribute the larger share.

When a girl attains puberty, a separate shed with date mats and green leaves is put up, and she is kept there for seven days, during which time she is considered to be impure. The girl is made to sleep there alone, an old woman being told off to sleep outside the shed to keep watch during the period. The girl is fed on good and nutritious food, consisting of dry cocoanuts, ghee, gingelly, fried bengal gram and jaggery in addition to the ordinary fare. In the evenings, married women give her turmeric powder and *kunkuma*. It is considered inauspicious for any one to see this girl for the first time early in the morning. On the eighth day in the morning, the shed is pulled down by the maternal uncle, who throws away the materials at a distance from their residence, and the girl sets fire to them. Among the nomadic section, the girl's glass-bangles are broken and the string of glass-beads is also removed. The clothes worn by her during the period are also burnt in the fire. She goes back wearing an old cloth, and is made to bathe near the house. While bathing, she is made to change places three times, two potfuls of warm water being poured over her head at each place. After bathing, she is given a new cloth to wear, but is made to remain outside the house. A hen is sacrificed at the spot where the hut stood. That day the girl has to take her food outside the house. She bathes early in the next morning, and fasts till evening; she has another bath then, and gets new clothes to wear. Then a party of married women take her to the temple of Ānjanēya. The god is worshipped, and she is given *thīrtha* or holy water. When she returns to the house from the temple, cow's urine is sprinkled over her head. In the house, cooked rice is served in a heap on a plantain leaf or on a plate, to which the girl offers

pūja, burning incense and breaking a cocoanut. Then she touches the rice with her right hand. This rice is then served to the castemen who have assembled there by invitation. The father has to spend three rupees for toddy. The girl becomes pure after this entertainment.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

The settled Dombars do not allow remarriage of women who have lost their husbands. Among them a widow must remain chaste as long as she continues to reside in her husband's house. If she is found to have been in criminal intimacy with anyone, not only has she to answer a charge before the caste people, but the relations of her deceased husband are fined for her fault. To avoid any such contingency, as soon as a young woman loses her husband, she is sent back to her father's house, and she may become the concubine of any one. The wandering Dombars on the other hand, freely permit a widow to re-marry as many times as she pleases, and there is nothing derogatory in her doings. The man selected must not be the brother of her deceased husband, and must not be within the prohibited degrees of relationship. The ceremony is the same as in other castes among whom widow marriage is allowed, and takes place in the evening before her father's house. A bachelor may marry a widow, but it is generally a widower or a married man, who wants to have an additional wife, who takes her. In the presence of the castemen assembled, he presents her with a white *sare*, and when she is dressed in it, he ties a turmeric root on a string to her neck as *tāli*. The jewels which her previous husband had given her are all returned, and the consent of the people of her husband's party is generally taken. The woman loses all claims to her previous husband's property,

and the children by him belong to his family. The essential and binding portion of the marriage is the tying of the turmeric root.

The *tera* or bride-price is half of that payable for a regular marriage, but sometimes even so low a sum as ten or fifteen rupees is accepted. It goes not to the previous husband's family. In fact, soon after the death of the husband, his widow, if there is any prospect of her marrying again, goes back to live in her father's house. The consent of the father is first obtained by the man that proposes to wed her. It is also necessary that the castemen should assent to the match, their representative, the *yajaman* being formally consulted in the matter. Besides the *tera*, the man has to pay a fine to the caste, give them a dinner, and bear the expenses for the toddy on that day.

Adultery with a man of the same or higher caste is condoned by payment of a small fine, and if the husband is willing, he may keep her. If a married woman elopes with a man of another caste, a fine equal to the marriage-expenses of the husband is levied, and the woman is married to him under *kudike* form. She then becomes his legitimate wife, and does not suffer in status. But if a married woman is guilty of adultery with a man of higher caste, and the husband is not willing to take her back, the caste-council levies some fine upon her, gives her *thirtha*, and makes her a *kulam bidda* (daughter of the tribe) that is a licensed prostitute. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant by a man of the same caste, she will be married to him, and the full *tera* of fifty-two rupees levied from him, in addition to some fine which always goes to the headman of the caste. If her lover refuses to marry her, he is outcasted, and she is retained in the caste, ADULTERY.

by the *yajaman* giving her *thirtha*. She may be married to any man that offers to marry her, or she may be allowed to become a prostitute on payment of a small fine to the caste. If on the other hand, an unmarried woman should bear children to a man of a higher caste, she and her children are subjected to some fine, and admitted into the caste after some expiatory ceremony. This ceremony consists in cutting a few locks of her hair, slightly burning the tip of her tongue with a bit of gold, making her swallow some *vibhūti* (sacred ashes), and getting her to beg pardon of the *guru* of the caste. She may thereafter marry any one of the caste or may become a prostitute, in which case she has to undergo the same ceremony of dedication as the other girls do.

DIVORCE.

Divorce is allowed at the instance of either party. The marriage-tie is so loose that even a small pretext, such as an occasional quarrel, or other incompatibility of temperament, will bring about separation. In such cases, before the assembled castemen called together for the purpose, the parties state their unwillingness to remain as man and wife, on account of the ill-treatment of the husband, unchastity on the part of the wife, or any other cause; and the relationship is severed, whereupon the wife is made to return the *tāli* to the husband. The party that is found to be at fault is fined the cost of a dinner, with toddy to the caste men. The woman so divorced is, in the case of wandering Dombar, at liberty to marry another, in which case, the latter will pay the marriage expenses incurred by the former husband.

DEDICATION OF PROSTITUTES.

The Dombar caste is notorious for dedicating girls to prostitution, the reason they assign being that when they adopted the profession of playing on the

long poles, a woman was taught the art as being likely to attract a larger and more appreciative audience, and as she thus becomes the object of attention of the public in general, she could not be married to any, and was therefore to be kept as a common woman. The practice is as common among the settled as among the wandering Dombars, though the former have long ceased to play on the poles. The wandering section select smart and good-looking girls and train them up for athletic feats. Those who succeed in learning them remain unmarried, and lead a life of promiscuity. A troupe of Dombars, without at least one prostitute among them, is a rare thing. Such women take a prominent part in their exhibitions, and are rarely equalled in dexterity by their male coadjutors. When off the stage, they generally go about in pairs to other public places, so as to attract customers for the more objectionable part of their trade.

The dedication takes place when the girl comes of age, between fifteen and sixteen. On an auspicious day, the castemen assemble by invitation. The girl is bathed and dressed in new clothes, and is seated on a pounding rod before the assembled castemen. Married women or prostitutes similarly dedicated, besmear her with turmeric and *kunkuma*, put on *sase** and fill her garment with cocoanut, rice, and other lucky articles. On rising from her seat, she bows to the elders to receive their blessing, and is then taken in procession to a temple of Ānjanēya, or Yellamma, a man beating the drum and women singing songs. She gets *thirtha* from the *pujāri*. Before the temple, the castemen congregate, and the girl is seated in their midst on a pounding-rod. She is besmeared with turmeric

* See account of the Koracha caste.

and *kunkuma*, and the maternal uncle ties a *tāli* to her neck. Basavis or married women pour *sase* on her. The girl bows to the castemen assembled, and is then conducted home in procession. At home a good dinner is provided for the guests by the father, who also pays for the entertainment in the toddy shop in the evening.

The settled section of the community observe nearly the same ceremonies, with slight variations, at the dedication of a girl to this life. A vessel filled with rice, with a cotton thread wound round it, is placed by her side to represent a bridegroom, when she sits in the temple at the time of the ceremony, *simhāsana pūja* takes place, and the permission of the caste is given by the *yajamān*, to give her license to lead a life of prostitution.

The wandering section of the Dombar repeat the same ceremonies as are observed at the marriage, on a smaller scale, when the girl thus dedicated as harlot, receives her first lover. The latter has to present her with new clothes and four rupees, and they are provided with a new hut and a cot to sleep in. Basavis only take part in bringing them together, and indecent songs are sung, while the girl and the paramour are seated on the cot. But the latter when not hardened, often feels too bashful to submit to such public treatment, and then the girl alone sits during the time the Basavis sing songs, and he is allowed to smuggle himself in after all the women guests withdraw.

These public women are said to remain faithful to their protectors when kept as concubines. It is even asserted, that they may be flogged and fined by the caste if they prove false. Such a woman, may, however, be set free, being given a parting *tāmbula*. A dedicated woman who does not enter into an alliance of a more or less permanent nature,

is free to consort with any man, provided he is not of a lower caste, such as Holeya, Mādiga, Nāyinda (barber) or Agasa (washerman). Sometimes the Basavis get themselves branded with Vaishnava symbols of *sankha* and *chakra*, and then their bodies may after death be carried and buried by Dāsaris.

A Basavi, who wishes to give up her life of prostitution, may be married in the *kudike* form; she will not be allowed to perform acrobatic feats in public after this; and her children born before the marriage are left with her father.

The Dombars observe no ceremonies when a woman is pregnant. When living in villages, her parents bring the woman to their house for the first delivery; but wandering families naturally leave them where they are. During confinement, the mother and child are kept apart in a separate hut or room, and the treatment of the patient is generally the same as in other castes. She is kept warm, laid on a cot of coir rope, and is given some arrack and other stimulating drugs. On the second day, a pit is dug in the verandah or in front of the house, in which the after-birth and the naval string are buried, and a fowl is killed on the spot. On the third day, the mother is given some chicken broth. On the fifth, the seventh or the ninth day, the child and the mother are bathed. Castemen are given a dinner, and the child is put into a cradle, which, for the wandering Dombars, consists of a cloth swung like a hammock between two posts, or on branches of trees. The maternal uncle ties the waist-thread to the child, whether male or female. The midwife is taken that evening to a toddy shop, where she is liberally entertained. The custom of consulting the soothsayer for giving a name to the child is very common.

PREGNANCY
AND CHILD-
BIRTH.

The names of the individuals are generally the same as those used by other castes of similar status, Mara and Mari, Yalla and Yalli and Sunka and Sunki being common. Hanumantha is a popular name, as connoting strength and prowess. The names most common for women who lead an unmarried life are Chinni, Lachmi and Venkati. They sometimes name children Galiga (wind or spirit), to appease the spirit which, according to their belief, makes children in the family, die. When frequent deaths of children occur, they make a vow and name the surviving child after a family or village god.

Tonsure is performed for male children in the first or the third year after birth, when either a barber or the child's maternal uncle crops the hair. Then a *yede* is kept in the names of the deceased ancestors, and some castemen are invited to a dinner with toddy.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The settled Dombars follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance. If a man dies leaving sons and Basavi daughters, each of the latter gets as much as the share of each son. The caste *panchayat* always allots some property to a destitute and widowed daughter. If, at the time of the father's death, a Basavi daughter has died leaving children behind her, the latter are entitled to the share of their mother. When a Basavi dies without issue, her property goes to her brothers and Basavi sisters in the same proportion as above mentioned.

Among wandering Dombars, there is little need to observe the rules of inheritance, as they rarely possess any property to divide. The father is the sole owner of a few beasts of burden and other scanty articles a family may possess. If, after his death, a partition is desired, the elders of the group meet and effect a partition.

These men, being generally poor, rarely practice adoption. Sometimes, a boy from among near relations is brought by childless relations, and they celebrate the event by feasting the castemen. This, however, happens only in the settled class. When a man has only daughters, he generally keeps one or two of them unmarried, and, they take the place of sons in the family, leading a life of free love. Prostitute women do not adopt girls as professional dancing women do.

Dombars have a tribal organisation to enquire into and punish infractions of caste rules. The rigidity with which these rules are enforced varies in the two sections. There is no doubt that the two sections originally formed one society and were under the same authority, but as one of them became settled, it seems to have formed its own councils which are quite independent of those of their parent stock. The *yajaman* or head of the settled Dombars, is a man belonging to the Somalārāju sub-division, and as these form a compact community found in a few places only, his authority over them is effective. His office is hereditary. He resides in Tumkur, and when disputes arise, the parties generally go to that place to obtain his adjudication. When they cannot go, he goes to their place, or sends his representative, and no important event may take place within the caste without his presence, or that of his representative. It is for this reason that they generally perform many marriages at one and the same time. They have another hereditary functionary called the minor *yajaman* or *kondikādu* (beadle), who acts as the convener of caste meetings and the headman's general assistant. On important and, ceremonial occasions, they get an extra *tāmbula* each, and when

TRIBAL
ORGANI-
ZATION.

any caste dispute is decided, they get some honarium, either the payment of money or the presentation of a cloth. The *guru* of the settled Dombars is a Sri Vaishṇava Brāhman, said to be a resident in Chelur of Tumkur district. He visits them occasionally, gives them *thīrtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and holy victuals), and is rewarded with some customary fees.

The wandering section, owing to the character of their life, is broken up into a number of groups, each having its own *yajamān*. The common head of this section is said to be a man of the *Matli* sub-division, and is styled *Matli Nāyadu*, who is regarded as having supreme jurisdiction over them, both in spiritual and temporal matters. His head-quarters are in Chitvel in the Pullampet Taluk of the Cuddapah district. Formerly, this office belonged to the Nātakarayana sub-division, but one of the holders thereof lost the esteem of his community by his low behaviour. There was a dispute about his retaining his dignity, and the *palyegar* (petty-chief) of the place who was asked to decide it, hung a *tōrana** of the cocoanut kernals to the town gate, and ruled that the party which succeeded in throwing down the *tōrana* by jumping over it, should have the headship. A boy of the *Matli* tribe, who had been tending donkeys, succeeded in accomplishing the feat, making somersault over the *tōrana*, and standing before the chief after another somersault. Thus pleased, the *palyegar* passed an edict that he and his descendants should be recognised as the heads of the caste. He also presented the boy with an *inam* of wet lands, worth twelve *varahās* (pagodas) and a ring. This ring is still

* *Tōrana* is a string with green leaves, and flowers or other articles tied to and stretched across an entrance as a decoration, to denote an auspicious occasion.

said to be in possession of the present representative of this division, and to bear an inscription in Telugu, declaring that the bearer is the headman of all the Dombars "within the four seas." A person of the Mannepala also styled Gandhaparajula division is the hereditary *pradhāni*, or the lieutenant of the *yajamān*. The authority of these men, however, is only nominal, and many groups of wandering Dombars know their distant headman only by repute. On marriage and other occasions, however, they allot the first two *tāmbulas* to these two functionaries.

For settling disputes that may arise, each wandering gang of three or four together elect among themselves a *yajaman* and a *buddhivanta* (deputy), from the *Matle* and *Mannepāla* families, if available. They meet periodically to settle disputes that may have accumulated in the interval, and the disputants pay the cost of maintaining them. They have very wide powers, and the guilty person may be fined, flogged or put out of caste. They thus settle not only caste disputes, but also property disputes, and these Dombars rarely resort to courts. An outcaste is denied all intercourse with his relations, and may secure his re-instatement only by obedience and the payment of an additional fine.

The Dombars freely admit recruits, both male and female, from any caste not lower than their own, as fixed by the text of commensality. Korachas are not admitted, and it is said that Brāhmans and others of the higher castes are also not admitted. The usual incentive for others to join the ranks of Dombars is the sexual passion for either sex. When a man, especially of a higher caste, is blinded by a passion for a Dombar prostitute, and offers to join

ADMISSION
OF OUT-
SIDERS
INTO THE
CASTE.

their society, she generally dissuades him at first. He is taken into the fold only if he proves intractable. The headman and other members of the caste assemble at the hut of the convert, who is again given a chance to retract. If he is firm, he has to shave his head, beard, moustache clean, and after bathing he is taken in his wet clothes on to the temple of Yellamma. He is purified by having his tongue slightly branded with a piece of heated gold, and with swallowing *panchagavya*, and the *pujari* sprinkles some *thirtha* on his head, and he is given a spoonful to drink. He feeds the castemen and removes the leaves himself after dinner; he has also to supply them with drink that evening. Besides, a money contribution has to be paid to the temple of the tribal goddess, and the *yajamān* who has given sanction has to be presented either with some money or a pair of clothes, or some other article of value. If the person that is admitted be a woman, her paramour bears all the cost. He may not put off the event indefinitely, and should there be any unreasonable delay, he is excommunicated. Admission into the caste in this manner makes a man as good a member of the caste, as if he had been born in it. He labours under no disability, and the children born of his connection with the Dombar woman are legitimised.

RELIGION.

All the Dombars, whether settled or wandering, have great faith in sorcery, magic, omens, oracles, etc. Whenever they commence any important event, they consult a soothsayer or ask for a flower, as they style it, from their tribal deity.

The name of their tribal God is Gurumūrthi and their tribal goddess is Yellamma. Like other wandering tribes, they also worship Māramma, Sankalamma and other maleficent deities. In

recent years they have been largely influenced by the Vaishṇava faith, and many have undergone the branding of the symbols of that faith namely, *sanka* and *chakra*, at the hands of the Sātanis, and undertaken pilgrimages to Tirupati, the shrine of the Venkataramaṇaswāmi in the North Arcot district. In the quarters of the settled Dombars, where there is a sufficiently large number of houses, they invariably have a temple for Yellamma, whom they worship under the name (recently given) of Ādi-Sakti. They strongly believe that any neglect shown to the worship of this goddess is sure to bring on misfortune to their families. The *yajamān* of the caste is the *pujāri*, and he worships the goddess every Tuesday making offerings of cocoanuts, plantains and cooked rice. Once a year, on the Lunar New Year's day, animals are sacrificed before this temple.

They periodically hold a grand feast in the name of Yellamma. On such occasions, the settled sections all meet together in one place, generally Tumkur, but the nomadic sections celebrate the worship when three or four groups happen to meet together at a place. The worship comes on Tuesday. On a spot cleaned with cow-dung and water, six or seven pots of toddy are arranged in a row on planks laid thereon, the central pot being considered as representing the goddess. Margosa leaves and cotton thread dipped in turmeric paste and *kunkuma*, are tied to each, turmeric paste and *kunkuma* being also applied to them. All the people of the caste assembled there take a bath, and put on washed clothes. The *yajamān* who has observed fast on the previous evening also bathes, and dressing himself in washed clothes, supplied by the washerman, worships the pots with great reverence. All the people sit round with folded hands. Offerings

of cocoanuts and flowers are made, and frankincense is burnt in large quantities. Then a number of sheep and goats are killed by the *pujāri* after sprinkling *thīrtha* on them. The *Asādi* of the *Mādiga* caste, who has been invited for the occasion, sings the praises of Yellamma, who takes possession of one of them. The toddy in the pots, except the central one, with more added if necessary, is distributed among all those assembled, who get fully drunk. The revelry continues the whole night. Early in the next morning, *mangalārathi* is waved to the remaining pot, and the liquor therein is also distributed to all present as *thīrtha*. This is followed by a general dinner.

When Sankalamma is worshipped, an earthen pot filled with water, is installed on a Tuesday under a tree, and before it, on a plantain leaf, cooked rice and curds with an onion are offered. Turmeric and *kunkuma* are put on the pot. No animal is killed.

Dombars worship a number of minor gods and goddesses, such as Munisvara, Gurumūrthi, Māramma and Kortigeramma (a local goddess). Another peculiar goddess is known as Kaluvaliamma. This is a goddess of epidemics, and is believed to accompany travellers when they return from a long journey. To propitiate this deity, those who have just returned to their settlement repair to a grove, and there set up three small stones under a tree, and worship them with the offering of a fowl or sheep. The sacrificed animal is cooked there, and is eaten by the people attending the worship.

**FUNERAL
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.**

The Dombars bury the dead. In some places, the corpses of pregnant women or of those suffering from leprosy are disposed of by heaping stones on it, at a spot near a hill (*kallu-seve* or stone service).

The body is carried in a lying posture, by hand, among the wandering, and on a bier, among the settled Dombars. The chief mourner carries the fire and a pot full of water, walking before the procession. The body is buried with the head turned to the south, and the chief mourner breaks the pot at the head side, and sticks the firebrand in the ground there. The surviving widow breaks her bangles there, and takes off her *tāli*. After washing their hands and feet in a water-course, the whole party repair to a liquor shop, where a pot of toddy* is kept ready for them. The chief mourner pours toddy, on the hands of the carriers to wash, and hands over one or two jugs of it to each of them. Then all drink the toddy, and the party return to the deceased's house with a jug full of the liquor. They look at a light burning on the spot, where the deceased expired, and after condoling with the family, the relatives return to their houses. At night, a ball of rice, mixed with curds, styled *jiva mudda* is kept on fine sand spread at the place of death, with a little water and a jug of toddy. Early in the morning of the next day, the spot is examined with great care to see whether the spirit of the deceased has visited the place and partaken of the refreshments, and left any marks visible on the sand bed. Then the remaining rice, toddy and water are thrown on a green plant.

On the third day, they place offerings on a low platform of earth, raised on the grave. Rice cooked with pork, and such other things that the deceased was particularly fond of, not excluding snuff and tobacco, are laid on two plantain leaves as *yede*, and frankincense is burnt, and the spirit is exhorted not to molest the survivors. The offerings are in

* This is in some places bought by the castemen who give to the chief mourner and his party by way of condolence.

the end given to the crows. Again, on the eleventh day, the family bathe, and putting on washed clothes, go to the grave-yard where food cooked with meat is again offered.

A feast in honour of the dead is performed at the end of the month. On that day, all the family bathe, and renew the cooking earthen pots, throwing out the old ones as polluted. Their headman is invited to purify the house. In the central part of it, a *kalasa* is installed. New clothes are kept near it, together with food and toddy. Incense is burnt, and a pig or sheep is sacrificed. A dinner is given to the castemen, and they spend the whole night in drinking, as if to drown their sorrow in liquor. It is after this that the death pollution is fully removed. Those of the caste who have the Vaishṇava symbols, *sanka* and *chakra*, branded, and who are called *Tirunāmadhāries*, invite a *sātāni* to officiate at these ceremonies. The priest installs a *chakra*, and does *pūja* to it, both at the burial ground and at home, offering it large quantities of toddy, which he distributes to them as *tīrtha*, reserving a good quantity for himself.

They do not perform *śrāddhas*. On the New Year day, Mahālaya, New moon and Gauri feast days, they offer new clothes in the names of all the deceased ancestors; but the wandering section rarely observe these ceremonies. If a wife has any troubles attributed to the molestation of the ghost of her husband's deceased wife, a *tāli* consecrated in the latter's name is worn by her. They do not perform any additional ceremony for those who die an unnatural death.

OCCUPATION. The characteristic profession of these men is the exhibition of rope-dancing and other acrobatic and athletic exercises. They show considerable



DOMBER WOMEN MAKING COMBS.

dexterity and many of their feats would bring credit to members of any ordinary circus troupe organised in a much more elaborate fashion. The women especially are adepts in exhibitions on the pole, or the tight rope. They play in the open maidan, and take a collection at the close, the plate being taken round for obvious reasons, by the most attractive member of the troupe. The collections may amount to anything up to twenty rupees, according to the size of the place and the ability of the performers to please the audience. Sometimes they get presents of clothes. Their performances are not now largely patronised as there are better organised circus companies going about the country. The want of finish and management interfere with the success of the *svadēśi* work in this as in so many other departments. The Dombars have a supply of blunt swords, scimitars, daggers and other antiquated arms, which they exhibit on a cloth spread before the audience during the performance.

Dombars who perform in public make a great deal of din and noise, with drums and loud shrieks to attract a large crowd of spectators. This kind of clamour is called "Dombi" in Kannada (Canarese), but whether "Dombi" meaning a tumult or tumultuous rabble is derived from Dombar (the name of the caste), it is not easy to determine.

They make combs of various kinds of soft wood and sometimes of sandalwood, or horn, and vend them in villages and towns. It is said that a goldsmith paramour of a Dombar woman taught them the art, presenting her with a few instruments (saw, chisel and file) required for the work ; and the Dombars show particular regard to goldsmiths as their patrons. It is chiefly the women that manufacture these articles and hawk them about in the streets. They find a market even outside the State.

Dombars are included in the Criminal Tribes, and are placed under surveillance. They are credited with daring and love of excitement. They obtain information of like places for raiding through their women, and before embarking on any such enterprises, they invoke the aid of their goddess. They are also said to train their boys by an apprenticeship to this trade*.

Dombars are also great breeders of sheep and pigs, which boys and women are employed to graze. Men engage themselves as day labourers in the villages near or about which they encamp, their women going about for alms. They are expert bird catchers, which they secure either by spreading nets or smearing bird-lime on their roosts.

The settled Dombars are almost all engaged in agricultural pursuits, the proceeds of which they supplement by comb-making and pig-breeding.

Dombars are vindictive, and should they consider themselves either slighted in any village they may have visited, or insufficiently remunerated for their gymnastic feats, they take other steps to remunerate themselves at the expense of the inhabitants thereof. Men usually wear short hip-trousers made of white cloth, named *challana* and sometimes after a series of successful forays, or at festivals, and when they give their performances, they put on gaudy shawls, jackets and laced turbans. These articles of dress are sometimes obtained as presents, but not infrequently by less legitimate means. Another characteristic part of their dress is the cotton waist-band of black color, ornamented with hanging tassels at either end. While performing, they tie this band round, pass it tightly between the legs and tuck up the ends at the waist. They

* Mullaly : *Notes on the Criminal Tribes of the Madras Presidency.*

wear a silver *tāh* with an effigy of Hanumanta engraved on it, suspended round the neck, silver bangles on the wrist, and also silver rings.

The family women of the nomadic section, do not wear *ravike* (bodice), and put on glass beads profusely round the neck. The prostitutes are more civilized and their dress and ornaments are the same as those of the other respectable classes, the one ornament which distinguishes a prostitute from the rest being a silver anklet which she wears round her left leg.

Their women undergo tattooing, the operation being performed by a woman of Korama caste. The designs are the ordinary ones, but a prostitute has a streak of tattoo on her forehead, and if she is so disposed, she gets a likeness of her favourite paramour tattooed on her arm.

It is reported that a section of the wandering Dombars do not eat food after they hear the sound of the jackals at night and that like the Jains, they have their evening meal before the sunset.

The Dombars are low in social status. The wandering section eat at the hands of Oddas and Bedas. But the settled people draw the line at the Bestas. Except Holeyas and Mādigas, no one eats in their houses.

SOCIAL
STATUS.

The Dombars are considered to be polluted by touch, though they are allowed to enter the outer apartments of the houses of the higher castes. Brāhmanas help them only to fix auspicious days, and to discover whether a proposed match is agreeable according to the rules of astrology, but they do not officiate at any religious or other ceremonies for them. They are very hard drinkers, women and children also being addicted to the vice, and at night time, their camps are generally noisy and troublesome to those who live near. They may draw water from

the village well. The barber shaves them and pares their toe-nails and the washermen have no objection to wash their clothes. But as a matter of fact, the wandering Dombars have rarely any clothes for the washerman, and the little washing that is necessary, they do themselves. They are allowed to enter the outer parts of temples, but take no part in the ceremonies connected therewith. Their social rank is the same as that of the Korachas.*

DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

They eat flesh of all kinds of animals, bats, cats,† owls, rats and bandicoots included. Some eat crows also ; but beef and the flesh of monkeys and snakes are eschewed. The settled section have given up eating owls and bandicoots.

CONCLUSION.

The Dombars are supposed to be the descendants of Doms from Northern India. They are tumblers, acrobats and snake charmers. The castemen are found in various grades of culture and social elevation, owing to their residence in towns, and their frequent contact with the members of the higher castes. Some are vagrants, residing in movable huts and rearing pigs. Some are agriculturists, while others in contact with higher castes are decently dressed, and help their wives in the manufacture of combs, which appears to be a thriving trade. Their women are also decently clad and well ornamented. Their habitations are pretty neat. All of them came under my observations at Tumkur and other localities.

* It is said that Korachas and Dombars were formerly related as brothers. Once upon a time, when both were in need of a bride, they began to bid for the same girl by gradually increasing the price. Dombars brought up the price to twenty pagodas and stopped there, while the Korachas increased the bid to 25 pagodas and carried away the girl. Ever since, they have been separated into two rival groups.

† It is considered a great sin to kill a cat, but they say that the sin of killing it is washed away by eating it.

Dombars are a strong muscular set of people, and are found in all shades of complexion. Tribesmen living in the vicinity of towns are better dressed and put on a better appearance. Those living in villages are found dirty in habits. The women of the former class are of average stature, better dressed and better ornamented like those of high-caste women. But the women of the vagrant class are dirty in appearance. The Dombar males are generally tall, stout, muscular and hardy.

APPEARANCE,
DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS.

The Telugu Dombars have a dialect which is used only among themselves. A list of the words and phrases in the Dombar dialect with their English equivalents is given below:—

DIALECT.

NOUNS.

<i>Words.</i>		<i>Meaning.</i>
Karuv	..	1. Hut. 2. Village.
Ganne	..	Toddy.
Kowrunganne	..	Arrack.
Kavuru	..	News.
Mesa	..	Food.
Panchcham	..	Dhal-water.
Tiluvu	..	Water.
Tadam	..	1. Way. 2. Door.
Sirasam	..	Head.
Vagatam	..	Mouth.
Kivistaram	..	Ear.
Chattam	..	1. Hand. 2. A field.
Pashtyam or Patimu	..	Leg.
Kanigam	..	Blood.
Nerem	..	Hair.
Pattemu	..	Stomach.
Abba	..	Father.
Siragadu	..	Son (male child).
Pinka	..	Daughter (female child).

NOUNS—*contd.*

<i>Words.</i>		<i>Meaning.</i>
Tobbirikam ..	..	1. Man.
		2. Husband.
Masa ..	..	1. Woman.
		2. Wife.
Mandirenu ..	..	Wife.
Dasimasariga ..	..	A prostitute.
Nerupam ..	..	Marriage.
Pakyalu ..	..	Rice (uncooked).
Kivulu ..	..	Ragi.
Daipadam ..	..	Pestle.
Tegem ..	..	Rope.
Malastaram ..	..	Tree.
Irupam ..	..	1. Hill.
		2. Wood.
Malem. ..	..	Rain.
Devarikam ..	..	1. Light.
		2. God.
Elemu ..	..	Betel leaf.
Telipem ..	..	Chunam.
Kantikam ..	..	Brass vessel.
Kogilam ..	..	Earthen vessel.
Kenda ..	..	Cloth.
Sirasapukenda ..	..	Head cloth (turban).
Netlakenda*	..	Large cloth, a blanket.
Gorapadammenrem ..	..	Sheep.
Kaike ..	..	A dog.
Netalnadava ..	..	A horse (a big donkey.)
Dagarugoddedi ..	..	A buffalo (eater of night soil.)
Lyuva ..	..	A fowl.
Chinna Narasigadu ..	..	A jackal.
Jayikam ..	..	A sword.
Netla Irupam ..	..	The pole.
Marupam ..	..	Dombar play.
Biluvulu ..	..	Copper coins.
Bagamgone ..	..	Half of rupee.
Chintaginja ..	..	One anna (a tamarind seed).
Suttetikadu ..	..	A silver smith.

* Netla means large or big.

NOUNS—*contd.*

<i>Words.</i>		<i>Meaning.</i>
Kogilalodu ..	..	A potter.
Kendalodu ..	..	Washerman.
Tanangivadu ..	..	1. Shanbhog. 2. Brahman.
Lairodu ..	..	The tori.
Pattukondi ..	..	Paddy.
Kalastaram ..	..	Grinding stone or stone.
Nelastaram ..	..	Ground.
Bolistaram ..	..	A mat.
Elem ..	..	1. Leaf. 2. Paper.
Nerupam ..	..	Sunshine.
Gontikam ..	..	Areca nut.
Burigyalamu ..	..	Tobacco.
Rettani ..	..	Night.
Tattekkam ..	..	Cot.
Vatukoyyi ..	..	A bag.
Masagatakenda ..	..	Women's cloth (sadi).
Tuduvukenda ..	..	Lip trousers.
Gorapadamkenda ..	..	Sheep cloth or coarse woollen blanket.
Elemgoddedi ..	..	Eater of leaves, a goat
Nadava or Sikkanadava ..	..	A donkey.
Badisam ..	..	Cow or bullock.
Mannigam ..	..	A pig.
Kasikam ..	..	A cat.
Netla Narasigau ..	..	A tiger.
Nadamarupam ..	..	A gun.
Minem ..	..	The stout rope for tying to the pole.
Gondelu or Gonelu ..	..	Rupees.
Sirupalu ..	..	Pies.
Pink* ..	..	Quarter rupee.
Dondodu ..	..	A shopkeeper, a Komati.
Gannodu ..	..	Idiga (toddy drawer).
Neralodu ..	..	Barber (man of the hair)
Elikodu ..	..	The patel.
Pudodu ..	..	The talari (watchman).
Jadamodu ..	..	Police constable.

* Also means a female child or daughter.

NOUNS—*contd.*

<i>Words.</i>		<i>Meaning.</i>
Gemma	..	A thief.
Tatekam	..	1. A tank. 2. Train.
Sonapam	..	Jewels.
Netlollu	..	Big men or king.
Mundarajampa	..	Somersault.
Jarikam	..	Shoe.
Gabbidi	..	A pregnant woman.
Netlakaruvu	..	Kutcheri or Police station (a big house).
Savarenainodu	..	A wise man.
Tuparam	..	Bangles.
Netlabidimodu	..	Guru or king.
Lenkatam	..	Somersault.
Gontikam*	..	Horn of a bullock.
Adimodu	..	He.

NUMERALS.

Ojogati	..	One.
Sulam	..	Three.
Chattam	..	Five (fingers of the hand, latter being called chat- tam).
Goparam	..	Seven.
Ojogati Vaidu	..	Nine (one less than ten).
Gachchakaryi Ojogati	..	Eleven (ten and one).
Gachchakaryi Sulam	..	Thirteen (ten and three).
Sulamgachchakaryi	..	Thirty.
Nainam	..	Two.
Maggam	..	Four.
Kyasaru	..	Six.
Nainammaggalu	..	Eight (two fours).
Gachchakaryi	..	Ten.
Gachchakaryi-Iggu	..	Twelve.
Nainamgachchakaryi	..	Twenty (two times ten).
Netlagachchakaryi †	..	Hundred (big ten).

* It also means arecanuts.

† They have no words for numbers above one hundred.

VERBS.

<i>Words.</i>		<i>Meaning.</i>
Nettumadipilu *	..	To bow.
Parigulu or Odigulu	..	Run.
Kavu ..	..	Go
Kedu ..	..	Ask.
Nabbinamu ..	..	Hide or conceal.
Ituko ..	..	Take or buy.
Ettipilu ..	..	Get up or rise.
Karate ..	..	Died.
Kaipu ..	..	Eat.
Suttavillu ..	..	Burn.
Baddichchu ..	..	Know or understand.
Sayichchu ..	..	Come.
Suniya or Sonchu	..	Go.
Pimmu ..	..	Give or keep.
Bavalichchu Muchipillu	..	Hide or conceal.
Maripilu ..	..	Sell.
Killuko ..	..	Lie down or sleep.
Karinchu ..	..	Kill.
Daipu ..	..	Beat.
Yajiniku ..	..	Withdraw.
Marugu ..	..	Join.
Sodayipu ..	..	Send away.
Karipilu ..	..	Receive.
Nabbadu ..	..	Is not or no.

PHRASES AND SENTENCES.

Gemmalichchu	..	To steal.
Parigilatadu	..	He runs.
Sayistadu ..	..	He comes.
Karuvukavu	..	Go into the hut or village.
Pattemu sutta viltadi	..	I feel hungry (my stomach burns).
Tiluvukaipu	..	Drink water.
Mesakaipu ..	..	Eat food.
Yadelipitiki sonche	..	Went out.
Adikku nabbinamu	..	We live that side.
Adimodikelle	..	Fell down to the ground.
Maripilatadu	..	He sells.

* The ending '*pilu*' is used largely to convert nouns into verbs.

PHRASES AND SENTENCES—*conold.*

<i>Words.</i>	<i>Meaning.</i>
Netlasiraga ayyindi ..	She has attained puberty (she has become a big child).
Tobbirikam sayistadi ..	Marriage consummation takes place.
Danni pimmukonnadu	He has kept her.
Pillaggaviri	He was arrested and taken away.
Pachchega	Let us go.
Ejam nabbadu ..	There is not anything.
Adimoda sadenabbadu	He did not come.
Rettaniki sayistanu	I shall come this night.
Adimonidaggira gavu maggam gonelu- pimmutadu.	Go to him and he will give you four rupees.
Elem dadaputadu ..	He writes.
Patemulo daiputado ..	He kicks.
Vandla karuvulo nera- pam outundi mesa- putaru sonchu ..	Marriage takes place in their house. Go, they will give you food.
Iddaru saistaru oganni karipiluko oganni sondayipu.	Two persons are coming, receive one (into the hut) and send away the other.
Nerupam pettutadi ..	Sunshine comes.

GANGADIKĀRA OKKALU.

INTRODUCTION—NAME AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS
AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—PREGNANCY
RITES—WIDOW MARRIAGE—INHERITANCE AND ADOPT-
TION—CASTE COUNCIL—RELIGION—FUNERAL CERE-
MONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF
THE CASTE—CONCLUSION.

GANGADIKĀRS form an important division of the large group known as Okkaligas, corresponding to the Vellalas in the Tamil and the Kunbis in the Mahratta country. Though allied to other divisions, they do not intermarry with them. There are no other names to this caste. The title used by male members is *Gauda*, meaning headman. They are found mostly in the western and southern parts of the State, and they are almost the only caste of Okkaligas found in the Tumkur, Hassan and Mysore districts.

INTRODUC-
TION.

The term '*Okkaliga*' means a cultivator, and is probably derived from the word '*Okku*' which means to thresh the grain out of ear-stocks. The Telugu equivalent, *Kāpu*, means a supporter. As agriculturists, they are pre-eminently styled supporters.

NAME AND
TRADITION
OF THE
CASTE.

Gangadikāra is the contraction of Gangavādikāra, that is, a man of the country ruled by Ganga kings, a dynasty which flourished in the 10th Century A.D., and held sway over the central and the southern parts of the present Mysore State. Similarly, another section of the Okkaliga community came

to be known as Nonabās, as they occupied the northern parts of the same territory, which was under the rule of a dynasty known as Nonabas.*

Gangadikāras speak Kannada as their language, and have stuck to it even when scattered outside Mysore. Some of them have received good education and know also English.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

There are two main divisions, which are endogamous, namely, Pettigeyavaru and Bujjanigeyavaru. The former derive their name from the custom of carrying marriage articles in a bamboo box, and the latter from the custom of carrying them in a covered basket. Of late, however, there have been instances of intermarriage between these sections. There are two other sections, which are based upon religion; Mullujana, who are Saivas, and Dāsajana, followers of Viṣṇu. The Dāsajanas are sometimes called Nāmadhāris, and sometimes, though less commonly, Darsanikaru. They are also styled, ironically, those who are entitled to *tīrtha prasāda*, meaning those who indulge in drink. The Mullujanas are strict teetotalers.

The Bujjanige section is otherwise known as Dhāre marriage section, while the Pettige section are styled Vilyada Maduveyavaru. Dhāre section observe their marriage ceremonies more elaborately, and the Vilyada section do not consecrate *arivēni* pots, set up no milk-post, and use no *bhāshinga*. Where, as noted above, there are intermarriages between these sections, the ceremonies observed follow those in vogue in the family of the bridegroom. There is a third section of the caste, called

* It is some-what amusing to find that some persons anxious to find a Sanskrit pedigree have converted Nonabas into Makshika Gotra, as both Nona in Kannada and Makshika in Sanskrit mean the same thing namely, a house-fly. *Vide Nonaba* Vol. V.



GANGADIKAR BETTER CLASS VILLAGE FAMILY GROUP.

Chēlūru Gangadikāras. They are pure vegetarians and strictly abstain from liquor.

Gangadikāras, living in the Bangalore and some parts of the Mysore districts, have a large number of exogamous clans, named after material objects, with the usual prohibition against cutting, using and sometimes touching such objects. But the people living in the Hassan District have totally forgotten the restrictive rules. The following list contains the names of the exogamous clans :—

Alavi	..	Franany.	Anohe	..	Bird.
Ane	..	Elephant.	Atti	..	Fig tree.
Avi	..	....	Ayyalu	..	....
Bachehala	..	....	Balame	..	....
Belli	..	Silver.	Beralu	..	Finger.
Chandra	..	Moon.	Chatri	..	Umbrella.
Chinnada	..	Gold.	Dalabandra	..	....
Emme.	..	Buffalo.	Eni	..	Ladder.
Gudi	..	Temple.	Hasube	..	Double bag.
Holuru	..	....	Honge	..	Pongamia Glabra.
Huvvu	..	Flower.	Kajjaya	..	Cake.
Kalli	..	Plant.	Kamba	..	Pillar.
Kasturi	..	Musk.	Kolu	..	Stick.
Komme	..	Herb.	Kotti	..	Cat.
Kove	..	....	Madana	..	....
Male	..	Garland.	Mallige	..	Jessamino.
Mani	..	Glass beads.	Motu	..	....
Muchchala	..	Lid.	Muttu	..	Pearl.
Same	..	Panieum.	Savanti	..	A flower.
Tene	..	Ear of grain.	Ummara	..	....
Vale	..	Ear ornament.	Valli	..	A cloth.

A woman may marry at any age, but infant marriages are becoming more and more common. An unmarried woman may marry a paramour by *kūdi*ke, but this license is also becoming restricted. Sometimes she is compelled to undergo a purificatory ceremony before being admitted into society. The prohibited degrees are the same as in other castes. Where two families are allied by marriage to a third, there can be no inter-marriage between them. Two sisters may be married by either one man or two brothers, the younger marrying the younger and the

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS
AND CERE-
MONIES.

elder, the elder brother. Exchange of daughters is allowed, but does not find much favour.

The boy's father goes to the girl's house to settle the marriage, and pays down six rupees as part of the bride's price, together with a *hana*, which is returned. They consult an astrologer to ascertain mutual compatibility, according to the names of the parties or their natal stars. They are particular in observing signs and omens while negotiating for marriage. They take with them turmeric and *kunkuma*, fruits, flowers, and a *sare* and *ravika*, to give to the girl. On their arrival the party is received with the usual honour, and in the evening, in the presence of the castemen and a Brahman *purohit*, two letters, fixing the day of marriage, are written and exchanged by the fathers of the boy and the girl. Then married women seat the girl on a plank, smear her with turmeric and present her with the new clothes.

The marriage generally takes place in the bride-groom's house. The other preliminary ceremonies, such as putting up the *pandal*, bringing *arivēni*, and setting up the milk-post, are observed in these days.

On the *Dhāre* day, in the morning, the pair undergo the nail-paring ceremony separately and bathe in *maleniru*. The bride-groom is given new clothes, and he ties a *bhāshinga*. He is then conducted under a canopy to a temple, and seated in front of it, with a *kalasa* (pot of water) before him. The best man known as *Jōdu Madavaniga* sits by his side. From this place, the articles to be presented to the bride are carried in a wicker basket or a box (according to the section to which the party belong), to the bride's house, the carriers going with music three times. After this, the girl's party proceed to welcome the bride-groom, and take him to their

house. At the entrance the bride's sister washes the boy's feet and waves *ārati*, and after each party has pelted the other with a handful of rice, the boy is led to the marriage seat. The girl is then brought by her maternal uncle, who makes her put gingelly and cummin seeds on the boy's head. The boy repeats this, and then the ceremonies of *dhāre*, and *kankana*-tying take place in the usual way. The couple are then led, holding each other by the hands, round the milk-post, and are asked to see the Sun, the Moon and the Arundhati star, and the Brāhman priest then announces that the marriage is complete.

After the Brahmans in the assembly have been dismissed with the usual presents, the couple are made to sit below the dais, and offer *pūja* to a *kalasa* and cocoa-nuts.

Three men from the bride-groom's party deposit the *tera*-amount, *minus* six rupees paid on the *vīlayāda sastra* day and retire. Then two persons of the same name, one from the bride-groom's side and the other from the bride's, are made to sit near the plates, and are subjected to much fun, by having turmeric, *kunkuma* and *vibhuti* smeared over their bodies, and cakes broken on their heads. Then the man representing the bride's party asks the bride-groom's representative why he came there, to which he replies he came there to eat rice and dhal. The bride's man says he will give it and asks what else he wants. The latter says, "We want the girl." The other man says, "We give the girl," and gets a reply, "We take her." Then an announcement is made thrice, that such a girl is given in marriage to such a man. May they prosper! Then the plate containing the *tera*-amount is handed over to the bride's representative. The married couple rise, and passing round the milk-post go back into the

house to eat the common meal. In the evening, the bridal procession, the mock child-birth and offering *pūja* to the milk-post take place. Next day the couple are made to eat together again out of a common dish and in the evening they are taken out in procession to the temple, along with the *arivēni* pots and the seedlings of staple grain, sown two or three days previously. On taking their seats, a measure of paddy is kept in a dish before them. To the palms of the couple some ghee is applied and *hana* placed thereon. The maternal uncles who first tied the *bhāshingas* take hold of their hands and press them on the paddy. The grains which stick to their hands are thrown on their heads. Then the *bhāshingas* and *kankanas* are removed. The water in the *arivēni* pots and the seedlings are thrown on a Bilva tree. After offering *pūja* to the god, the party return home. The next two days are spent in a visit to and return from the bride's house.

The amount of the bride-price varies between twenty and thirty-five rupees. Out of this, a small sum is returned, under a pretext that there should not be an outright sale of the girl. The custom of paying the price has undergone much change, and while in some places exorbitant prices are paid for the girls, in other places, no money is demanded, and the customary *tera* is used for buying some jewel for the girl.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days, during which period she is lodged outside the house in a shed of green leaves put up by the maternal uncle. After the bath, *osage* is performed by the girl's relations for eight or ten days. If she is already married, rice, butter, jaggery and other things necessary for a day's *osage* are

sent by the husband's family and if unmarried the maternal uncle has to do her this honour.

A pregnant woman is taken for the first delivery to her father's house, either in the fifth or the seventh month, and on an auspicious day the ceremony of *Basaru osage* is performed, when the woman is presented with a new *sare* and *ravike*, and puts on glass bangles, after presenting some pairs to married women. The husband is invited for the occasion, which is deemed festive and castemen are regaled with a dinner.

PREGNANCY
RITES.

After delivery, the woman is confined in a room into which no one except the midwife is admitted. The woman is considered impure for ten days, and the husband also remains in pollution during the period. On the eleventh day, the woman is dressed in white clothes, and is exhibited with the child in the company of married women and presented with turmeric and *kunkuma*. The neighbours bring from each family a potful of warm water and some soap-nut. The woman and the child are seated in a hole, dug in the front yard of the house, and are bathed in warm water. A Brahman *purohit* is invited to purify the house. The house is whitewashed, and the earthen vessels used for cooking are all thrown away. In some families, the name-giving ceremony is performed as among other higher castes but this practice is not common. In the evening, an elderly woman does *pūja* to the cradle, and the child is put into it and rocked. They have no names peculiar to the caste, and give the names of their deities. They believe that fate can be deceived by naming children after trivial objects.

Widow remarriage is permitted, and is commonly practised, but a widow may not marry her deceased

WIDOW
MARRIAGE.

husband's brother. A widow may marry any number of times, but she rarely does so a third time.* A bachelor may not marry a widow. The ceremony is simple and lasts but one day, except in some places, where it is prolonged for three days. The bride-price is half of that for a regular marriage, and is handed over to the heirs of the previous husband. A re-married woman is not allowed to enter a marriage *pandal*, and if she survives her second husband, she is not eligible to perform his funeral rites.

DIVORCE.

Divorce is fairly easy; the woman is made to return her jewels and *tāli* at a caste *panchayet*. The divorced woman may be married to her paramour. If a girl is discovered to be pregnant before marriage, her lover is made to marry her in *kudike* form. There are no Basavis in this caste.

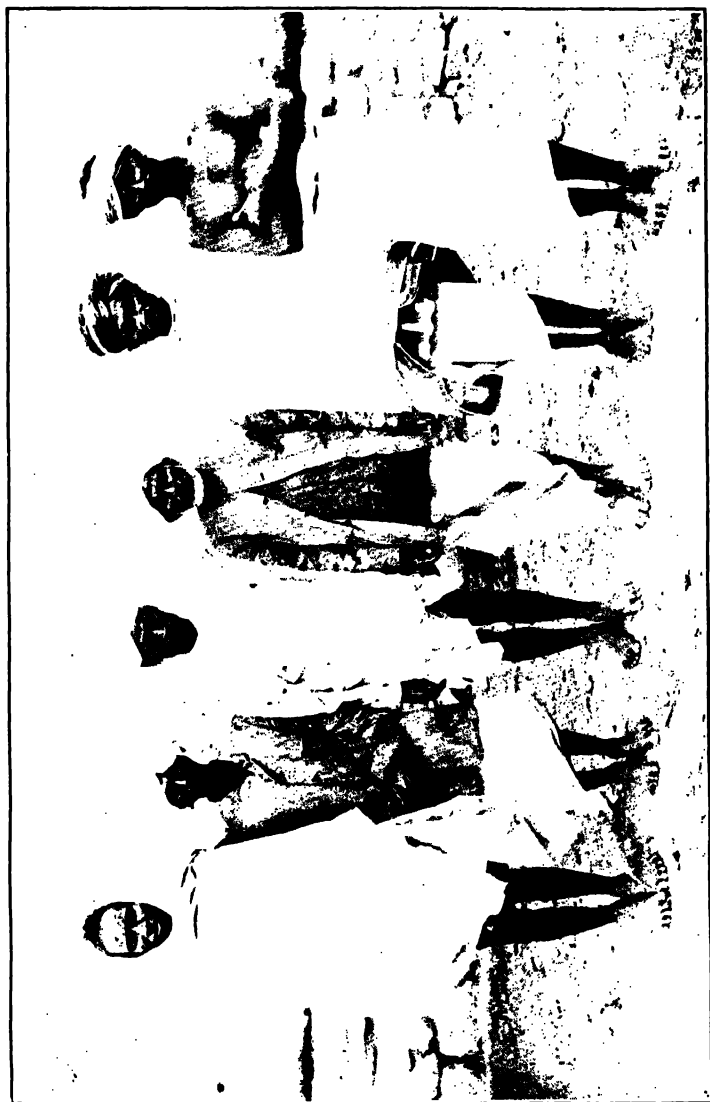
INHERIT- ANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Gangadikāra Okkalus follow inheritance in the male line. Adoption is allowed and practised. The boy must not only belong to the same sub-division, but in some places, must be of the same exogamous sept. An exception is made in the case of a sister's or a daughter's son. A brother's son is the most proper person to be adopted, and in this case the boy may be of any age and may be even a married man. The ceremonies observed are the same as those of Morasu Okkalu. Some practise *illatam*.

CASTE COUNCIL.

They have *kattamanes*, presided over by the Gauda and the Yajamān, whose authority they obey. The beadle or servant of the caste is styled *Hattara Manushya* (the Ten's man), or Kolkar, and acts under the orders of the Gauda.

* Some believe that persistent remittent fever (quartan ague) is cured if the person suffering from it drinks water given by thrice married woman.



GANGADIKAR CULTIVATORS—MALE GROUP.

Gandikāras worship both Siva and Vishṇu, and have also family gods to whom they show special reverence. They worship minor gods and goddesses, such as Munisvara, Māramma and Durgamma. Bhaire Dēvaru of Chunchanagiri near Nāgaman-gala is the family god of many of them. There is a matha in this place, presided over by a *Gōsāyi* from Northern India. He has an assistant who tours round and collects the customary fees. He also decides caste disputes submitted to him.

RELIGION.

They have a few individuals who take *nomee* (*dīksha*), piercing their ears with a knife, and hanging a whistle by a woollen thread round their necks. These are found in all castes worshipping Bhairava Dēvaru. They bathe every day before taking meals, and have to blow their whistle before taking the first morsel.

They bury the dead, but if the deceased, when alive, had expressed a desire to have his body cremated, this might be done and the ashes thrown into water. The custom of disposing off dead bodies by *Kallu-seve*, that is, by heaping stones over it, is also prevalent. The Mullu section of the caste observe the third and the eleventh day ceremonies, as in other castes, and get rid of the pollution, but the *dāsa* section perform the ceremonies peculiar to them on the fifth and the eleventh day, when they worship a *Chakra* with the assistance of a *Sātāni*. The Mullu section place food for the crows, but the *Dāsa* section do not do so. The Gangadikāras observe pollution for ten days for adults, but for the death of infants and a daughter's son, they have only to bathe.

FUNERAL
CUSTOMS.

They do not perform any anniversary or *Śrādhās* for individuals, and, on the Mahālaya-Amāvāsya day, a *kalasa* is set up in the name of all the ancestors

and water libations are offered. They call in a Brāhman priest to help them, and present him with some money and raw provisions. This ceremony is sometimes repeated on such important feasts as Ugādi, Dīpāvali, Gauri and Navarāthri.

The ghost of a husband who dies young is believed to haunt his wife, and even her parents are afraid of extending any support to her, lest the spirit should attack them. It is not considered safe to remarry her, or otherwise help her, until the spirit has been completely exorcised.

OCCUPATION. They are mostly agriculturists, and follow that profession in the main. Some have taken to other walks of life, such as Government service. The agricultural operations are conducted in much the same way as in other castes, and they have similar beliefs and superstitions.*

**SOCIAL
STATUS.**

Gangadikāras are high in the scale of castes, and occupy the same position as Morasu Okkalu. They employ Brāhmans to conduct their marriage and other auspicious ceremonies; but for funerals, Dāsajana invite Sātānis and some of the Mullujana call in Jangama priests and Jōgayya to conduct them, the services of the Brāhmans being required only to purify the house by *punyāhavāchana*. They do not admit outsiders into their caste; but if a Gangadikāra man has a concubine belonging to a higher caste, such as a Lingāyet, she may be taken into the caste and married to her paramour under the *kudike*.

FOOD. They eat the flesh of sheep, and fowls. They do not eat beef, and some eschew pork. Mullujanas

* Vide *Kuruba and Morasu Okkalu*.



GANGADIKAR CULTIVATORS—FEMALE GROUP.

are teetotallers, but the Dāsajanas drink liquor. There is now a movement among the latter to give up this habit, and a resolution was recently passed to that effect in Hassan. They eat in the houses of Brāhmans and Lingāyats. Gangadikāras and Kurubās eat in one anothers' houses.

Gangadikāras have *Hale-makkalu* among the Gangadikāra Holeyas, who give them the usual services, and get presents.

The Gangadikāras are an important division of the Okkaligas. They are now a distinct caste having two main endogamous groups, between whom, of late, there has been intermarriage. They are totemistic. Widow marriage is in vogue among them. They are mostly agriculturists, but some are engaged in other walks of life.

CONCLUSION.

GĀNIGA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
 INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE, ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS,
 EXOGAMOUS CLANS—HABITATIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND
 CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—
 POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—
 RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—DIETARY OF
 THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

INTRODUC-
TION.

GĀNIGĀS, or Gāndlas, as they are called in Telugu, are oil pressers. The common name of the caste is Gāniga, and they are also known as the Jyōtiphana people. The word Gāniga as well as the word Gāndla, is derived from a word meaning oil-mill. Jyōtiphana, meaning the community of the lamp, has also reference to their profession of supplying oil for lamps. A division of this caste styles themselves Jyōtinagaradavarū, or the people of the city of light. They are largely found in the Mysore District.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE
CASTE.

When Iswara found it necessary to remove the darkness of the world at night, and to keep up the perpetual light, he created a man from the sweat of his body, and commissioned him to the trade of oil-pressing. This man is said to be the progenitor of the caste. The Jyōtinagaradavarū claim to be Vaisyas, and say that the Nagartās who are styled Ayōdhyānagaradavarū are only an off-shoot of the Jyōtinagara people and came originally from the north of India. The Lingāyet Gānigas, who are styled Sajjanarū, say that their caste took its origin in Kalyāna Pattana during the time of Basavēswara, and that they follow one of the sixty-three professions

organised by him. The other Gānigas admit that they are Sūdras, known as Gānigas on account of their professions. The Mysore Census Report of 1891 gives the following description about them:—

“The account locally obtained connects this caste (Jyoti-nagaradavaru) with the Nagartas, as forming the leading communities of the left hand faction in opposition to the Lingāyats and other castes composing the right hand faction. Caste supremacy is ever associated in India with preternatural mythology. If the average Brahman traces his nobility literally to the face of Brahma, according to the Vēdic Purusha Sūkta, every other caste claims a patent of superiority in a similar miraculous origin. The Gānigas allege that they immigrated from the north at a time beyond living memory. A Mysore noble named Mallaraje Arasu, established and first peopled the Pēta (market town) of Bangalore, when the Gānigas first came here, followed by the Nagartās, who are said to have been co-immigrants with the Gānigas. Mallaraj made Setties and Yajamāns (headmen) of the principal members of the two castes, and exempted them from payment of the house-tax. The Gānigas are both Vaishnavās and Saivas. Their *guru* is known as Dharmasivāchārasvāmi in the Madras Presidency and certain *gōtras* (family names) are said to be common to the Gānigas and Nagartas, but they never eat together nor intermarry. The Gānigas claim the peculiar privilege of following the Vishnu image for year processions, throughout the province, with flags exhibiting the figures of Hanuman and Garuda and torches. These insignia are alleged to have been originally given to an ancestor, named Siriyāla Setty, by Rama as a reward for a valuable gem presented by him. The Gānigas call themselves Dharmasivāchār Vaisiyās like the Nagartās, and the feud between them used often to culminate in much bitter unpleasantness. The order includes a small division of the Linga-wearing oil-mongers, known as Sajjana (good men), whose population is a small fraction of the community. The Sajjanās, however, hold no social inter-course of any kind with the other sub-divisions.”

There is a tradition current among the Gānigas (Canarese) that they were originally Kshatriyas of the Solar race, and as devout worshippers of the God Siva visited his temple daily with their *guru* Kapila Mahāmuni. Once when Kapila Mahāmuni was unable to pay his customary dues to the temple, they were desired to offer the sesamum seeds to the god and bring a portion

of it to him. The Kshatriyas made the offering and consumed the whole themselves. The sage was much offended at the conduct of the disciples, cursed and condemned them to the produce of the seeds. This story goes to show that the caste was recruited from the respectable members of the Hindu community.

Gānigās are divided into three main groups :—

1. Jyōtinagaradavaru, who claim to be Vaiśyas, wear thread, and are treated almost like Nagartās.

2. Sajjanas, who are Lingāyat converts from the main body of the Gānigās.

3. Other Gānigās, who call themselves simply Jyōtiphanadavaru, and do not wear a sacred thread.

On the basis of language, there are Kannada Gānigās, Telugu Gānigās and Tamil Gānigās, the last being immigrants into the State from the Tamil Districts, and are found only in large towns.

Gānigās are also divided into separate groups, according as they yoke a single bullock or a pair to drive their mills, and according to a wooden or stone mill which they use. Double bullock Gānigās are also known as Heggānigās, and the single bullock men as Kiru Gānigās, big Gānigās and small Gānigās. All these divisions are not only endogamous but they also do not eat together.

The Jyōtinagara Gānigās are said to have, like the Nagartās, one thousand *gōtras*, which are all eponymous. It is said that as many as four hundred are known at the present day. Only a small number of them are totemistic. The following are some of the names of the two sections :—

(a) EPONYMOUS SECTION.

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1. Munnu Nollu. | 6. Vilhya Nollu. | 11. Linga. |
| 2. Sanak Nollu. | 7. Boya. | 12. Thamaka. |
| 3. Sambha Nollu. | 8. Bhadra. | 13. Chandra. |
| 4. Savitri Nollu. | 9. Ishwara. | 14. Dhanaka. |
| 5. Guru Nollu. | 10. Siva. | 15. Kshema. |

(b) TOTEMISTIC.

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Gampa Nullu. | 3. Nelega Nullu. |
| 2. Bukka Nullu. | 4. Konda Nullu. |

The following are only a few of them :—

Brāhmendra.	Arēndra.	Kannēndra.	Komarēndra.
Parushēndra.	Nagēndra.	Devēndra.	Machēndra.
Ulēndra.	Chandramauli.		

The followers of Kannēndra and Komarēndra *gōtras* are said to abstain from eating the herbs known as Kanne Soppu and Kamala Soppu. The Gānigās of Nanjangud have none of these *gōtras*.

The other divisions of Gānigās have a large number of exogamous septs, most of which bear the name of the plants, animals or other material objects which they abstain from eating, killing or otherwise interfering.

The Ganigas numbered at the last Census 41,973; 21,408 being males, 20,565 females.

Distribution of them according to districts and taluks is given below :—

	Male	Female	Total
Bangalore City	314	285	559
Bangalore District	3,157	3,121	6,278
Kolar do	3,464	3,418	6,882
Tumkur do	1,990	2,071	4,061
Mysore City	484	442	926
Mysore District	8,656	8,576	17,232
Chitaldrug do	107	89	196
Hassan do	1,354	1,384	2,738
Kadur do	378	301	679
Shimoga do	176	131	307
Civil and Military Station, Bangalore	1,011	492	1,503

Taluks with a population of 2,000 and more :—

	Male	Female	Total
Kadur Taluk	2,278	2,234	4,552
Tumkur do	1,990	2,071	4,061
Gubbi do	1,220	1,190	2,410
Chamrajnagar Taluk	1,029	1,055	2,084
T.-Narsipur do	1,041	1,014	2,055

HABITATIONS.

The Ganigas of Bangalore live in a particular locality known as Ganiga *pētē*. Their houses are similar to those of the corresponding castes. Their oil-mills are either in front of their houses or in their compounds.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS
AND CEREMONIES.

Both adult and infant marriages are in vogue among them, but adult marriages are common. Marriages are not said to be compulsory for either sex, and a woman remaining unmarried is not treated with any disrespect, if her character is spotless. Persons dying unmarried, whether male or female, are believed to become *Iragārarus*, and are worshipped. The same prohibited relations of marriage are observed as in other castes. Two sisters may be married either by one man or two brothers. Exchange of daughters is permissible, but is rare.

Polygamy is allowed, but is practised only when there is some strong reason.

The regular ceremonies of a marriage occupy five days, and do not differ much from what obtains in other castes, such as Nagartās. The main events during the first two days are worship of the family god, and applying turmeric paste to the bride and bridegroom; and on the third day, putting up a *pandal* on twelve pillars and in the evening, bringing water for the feast after worshipping Ganga in a river or pond, the reception of the bride's party and the installation of the *arivēni* pots.

On the fourth day, early in the morning, the bridal pair are bathed in *maleniru*, and the Jyōtinagara section take the boy for Kāsiyatra (pilgrimage to Benares), when the parents of the girl meet him near an asvatha tree, and after washing his feet, take him to the marriage *pandal*. A fire is kindled and the young man is invested with a sacred thread before it.

Before the bride-groom goes to the *pandal* for marriage, the jewels and other presents intended for the bride are carried by the bridegroom's party in three successive trips while he is seated in a temple. He goes to the *pandal* with a dagger in his hand, which he keeps by, till the conclusion of the ceremony. The sacred thread is also put on merely for the occasion. When the *kankanas* are being tied, the parties hold some salt in their hands. Worship of the milk-post of the *pandal* and the *ariveni* pots, and gazing at the Arundhati star, as also eating of the common meal, are not omitted. The Jyōtinagara section perform *homa* by ghee and *asvatha* twigs soon after the *dhāre*. In the evenings and mornings, for the next two days, the couple sit together in the company of married women, and the *nalagu* takes place.

On the *nagavali* day, the couple worship the *pandal*-posts as in the other castes, and the pot-searching, bathing in *Okuli*, or coloured water, and the untying of the *kankanas* take place. In the evening, the couple are taken in procession in the streets where they are allowed to pass by custom, and after their return from procession, they go to a temple and get *tirtha* and *prasāda*.

Next day, the milk-post is removed, after some milk has been poured on it, and the north-east corner post of the *pandal* is also pulled down. The bride and the bride-groom are sent to the bride's house, where they spend a day or two in feasting, and the boy afterwards returns home leaving the girl there.

If the girl has already come of age, consummation takes place on the *nagavali* day, after the procession and the visit to the temple are over. But the members of the third division of the Gānigas in such cases allow a period of three months to elapse, and

the girl is united with her husband on an auspicious day after the Gauri feast, when she offers *pūja* to this deity, and gives presents of *bāgina** to married women.

The Jyōtinagara section do not pay any bride-price; the other two sections have to pay it. The amount varies between twelve and twenty-six rupees.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for four days during which she remains outside the house. People of the Jyōtinagara section keep her under the shelter of an inverted boiling pan on which are tied green leaves of margosa. The Lingāyats do not erect any shed, while the other division puts up a shed with green leaves brought by the maternal uncle or one of an analogous relationship. Before bathing on the fourth day, the girl carries the material to some distance, and throws them away, and in some places the uncle pulls down the shed and burns the materials.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Gānigas do not allow widow marriage, and if either an unmarried girl or a widow is discovered in criminal intimacy with a man either of their own or of any other caste, she is expelled from the caste. Adultery is never tolerated, and they have no Basavis.

POST-NATAL CEBEMONIES.

Birth ceremonies observed by the Jyōtiphana section are the same as for Nagartās. The confined woman bathes on the eleventh day, and the purificatory and name-giving ceremonies are performed with the aid of Brāhmans. The child is put into a

* *Bāgina* consists of two bamboo winnaws, one of which is placed as a cover over the other, in which are placed some Bengal gram and other pulses, with some articles of female toilet, such as turmeric, *kunkuma*, combs, etc., and generally a new bodice cloth.

cradle that night, a round stone having been first rocked, the underlying idea being that the child should grow as hard, and be as long enduring as that stone. The names in general use among them are :—

Male.

Ramachandra
Ramakrishna
Chikkayya
Channaiya
Kalasaiya

Female.

Kullamma.
Balakka.
Mayamma.
Channamma.
Siddamma.

Setti is the title of the caste, and they attach this suffix to their personal names as a term of respectability.

Gānigas follow the inheritance in the male line. Adoption is permitted and practised when there are no sons. The third section of the Ganigas practise *illatam* and all keep their son-in-law in their houses, and bring him up as a son if they have no male children.

INHERITANCE
AND
ADOPTION.

Gānigas worship both Siva and Viṣṇu, and respect all the other gods of the Hindu pantheon. The Gānigas have, besides, such minor gods and goddesses as Munisvara and Yellamma, whose names are very commonly given to their children. They have no patron saints, but the Jyōtinagara section revere the memory of one Siriyalarāya, and often sing the deeds of charity for which he was noted. In large towns, where their numbers are great, they have the exclusive privilege of forming the rear of the processions of the Vaishṇava gods, with their insignia on the flags containing the images of Hanuman and Garūḍa, a light, an umbrella and a Surepaṇa. They have a bell metal gong, and sing monotonous songs in a drawling manner to the clash

RELIGION.

of cymbals. It is also said that when the god's marriage feast is celebrated in the temple of a Vaishṇava deity, they have to supply the *tāli*, to be tied to Lakshmi by her consort.

They worship all the village gods and goddesses. Many of the Ganigas (of the third division) belong to the Desabhāga section, and have Sātānis as their priests. Dāsaiyās are invited on all important occasions to repeat *tirumantra*, or the sacred verse, and to worship their lampstand, and do *Mane seve*. They worship their oil-mills on all important occasions.

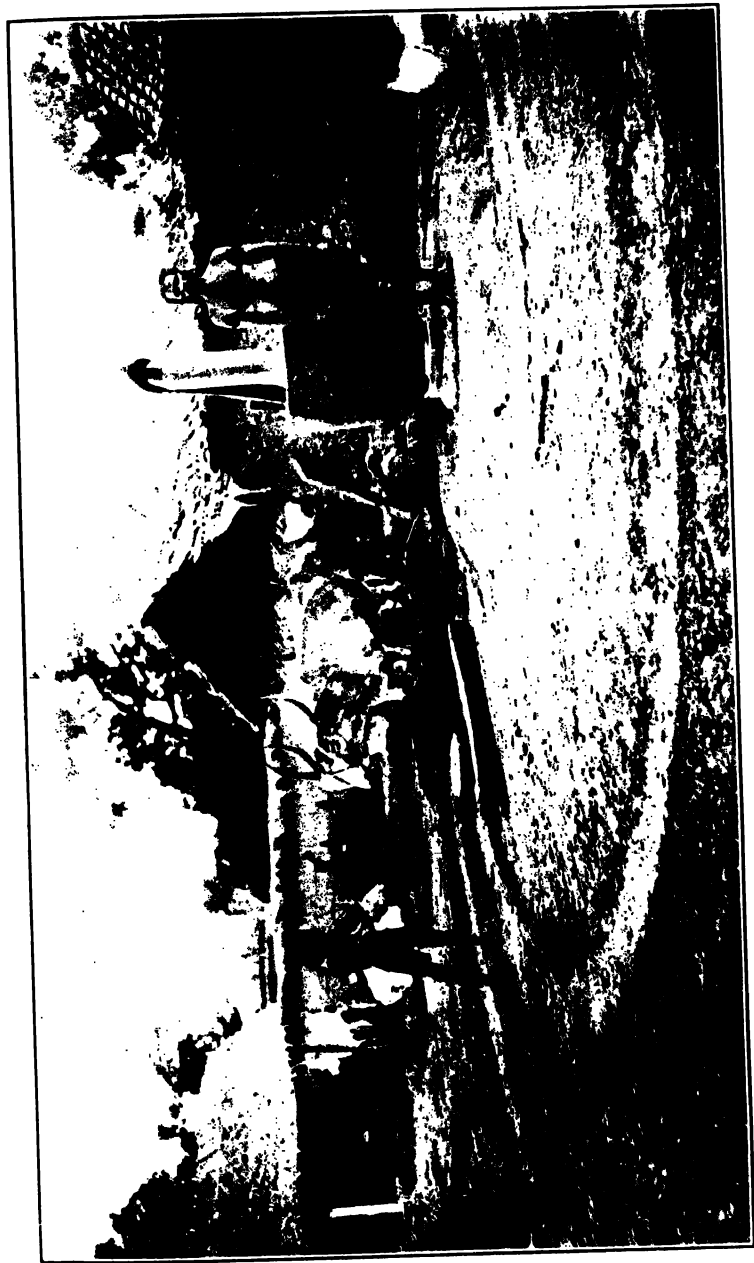
FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The dead are buried. The other section lay it flat on the bier, and carry it with a new cloth wrapped over it. All observe the third and tenth day ceremonies. The Jyōtinagara section perform *srādhas* annually. The Non-Lingāyat Gānigas observe the Mahālaya, and also offer *yedes* and new clothes in the name of their ancestors on such important occasions as the New year, and the Mahānavami and Gauri feasts.

OCCUPATION.

Gānigas are oil-pressers, and also oil-mongers. They have kept their original occupation in the main, but some have taken to agriculture and other walks of life, such as trade. They mill almost all oil seeds, and have their hands fully occupied. The mills, or mortars, are made of stone or wood. The stone-mills are cut out of big granite, and are made in large numbers at the village of Bettahalasur, about fifteen miles from Bangalore. A stone-mill is said to cost between two and three hundred rupees, and is carried on carts drawn by four or five pairs of good bullocks. The wooden mill is made of the hard wood of tamarind or other equally hard one.

The mill is embedded in a pit about five to six feet deep, and rises three or four feet above the



A GANIGA AT HIS OIL MILL.

surface. The mortar scouped out on the top is capable of holding twenty to thirty seers of oil seeds. The seeds are ground by a thick wooden pestle, bound with iron at the end, and the oil collects at the bottom of the mortar, the cake being held round the side, and scraped off after the pressing is over. The pestle is six or seven feet long, and is connected with a horizontal or standing pole at the top. The bullock, or bullocks are yoked to this pole, and go round and round the mill, making the pestle revolve in the mortar at its lower and loose-end. By a piling of stone weights at the outer end of the pole, the pressure in the mortar can be increased, and the whole arrangement, though crude in appearance, is fairly effective.

The trade is decaying, especially after the advent of the Kerosene oil. They do not invest much in purchasing oil seeds, but work such small quantities as they can get together, at intervals, or work for wages or for a share of the product with seeds brought in by others. In most villages of some importance there are generally one or more mills for pressing oil.

The Jyōtinagara group belongs to the Nine Phana group, and the rest to the Eighteen Phanas. Their social status is respectable, though oil-pressing is one of the occupations prohibited to the Dvija classes. They invite Brāhmans as priests, except the Lingāyats among them, who have recently given up the practice. The Jyōtinagara and the Lingāyat sections are vegetarians, and eschew liquor. The other divisions eat flesh, but do not drink liquor.

They do not admit outsiders into their caste, but those who have been outcasted may be re-admitted after *prāyaschitta*.

The Gānigas eat rice and fish, but they eat mutton and fowls on the last day of the Dasara in

DINARY
OF THE
CASTE.

October, when they get it cheap. Liquor is forbidden and the rule against it is still in force.

**APPEAR-
ANCE, DRESS
AND ORNA-
MENTS.**

The Gānigās are dark, sturdy and of middle height. The men wear the sacred thread, a narrow cloth, a shoulder cloth and a head scarf. The women wear the robe with skirt falling from the waist like a petti-coat and the upper end drawn over the shoulders and bosom.

The women wear Tirpunhuvu and Kedgi for the head ; for the ear, Bugudi, Mangala and Karaphul ; for the neck, Mangala sūtra, Gejje-tikke, Sarige and strings of beads and coins ; for the wrists, Bale, bangles, Dundu, Cholke, Vanki, Himbale and Haval bale and Chudi ; for the arm, Nāgamurgi, Bajuband, and Vankisarige ; and finger and toe rings.

CONCLUSION.

The Ganigas are oil-pressers and oil-mongers. They are known by different names according to the peculiar customs of their groups, namely, Hegganiga, those who yoke two bullocks to their stone oil-mills ; and Kiruganiga, those who make oil in wooden mills. They are collectively known as Jyōtiphana or Jyōtinagara, the light-giving caste. Those who yoke two bullocks are, in Tamil, called Vānians. The caste includes Vaishṇavās and Saivās ; and the latter are different from the small section called Sajjana who wear the *linga*, and who hold no social intercourse with the other endogamous groups.

GOLLA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF
THE CASTE, ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS, EXOGAMOUS CLANS—
MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—
PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—
WIDOW MARRIAGE—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—SOCIAL
ORGANIZATION—RELIGION, FASTS AND FEASTS—FUNERAL
CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—APPEARANCE,
DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

THE Gollas are a pastoral and indigenous caste of Telugu people in Mysore. They are sometimes called Ūru (Town) Gollas, and are distinguished from Kādu, or Jungle, Gollas. In parts of the Malnād, the name Gauliga which has the same meaning, is used instead. They sometimes style themselves Yādava-kula, or Krishna-kula, as they profess to belong to the same caste as Krishna. They also style themselves Gollarājulu. They are, as a class, illiterate. Gauda is the usual honorific suffix, but a division known as Kilāri Gollas, use the term Nāyadu. INTRODUC-
TION.

Golla is a contracted form of Gōvala, which is a derivative from Sanskrit Gopāla, or cowherd. Gauḷi, or Gauḷiga, is another form of the same word. Their original calling was that of tending cows and living by the sale of milk and its products. This was carried on slings called Kāvadi, and hence these men were sometimes known as Kāvadigās. When illiterate, they generally affix the mark of a Kāvadi (two slings balanced on a cross pole), to denote their signature.* The term Gollarāju is meant perhaps

* Turuvala is another old Kannada equivalent of the term. Turu meaning a cow and vala, a masculine suffix.

to denote their superior status, on account of their alleged connection with Krishna, who belonged to the royal dynasty of the Yādavās.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE
CASTE.

The Gollas are well-built, strong and muscular, and may be easily identified by the Vaishnava mark (a vertical red or yellow streak) on their foreheads. They claim to be the descendants of a Brāhman maid married to a Kshatriya. Dēvayāna, the daughter of Sukrāchārya, the priest of the Rākshasās became the subject of a curse. She was left by her companions while swimming in a pond in a jungle without clothes, her companions having carried them away. She was helped by the Kshatriya king Yayāti, who had to supply her with half his cloth, torn off to cover her body before leaving the water. As he lifted her by the hand, she begged him to marry her, as he was the first stranger to touch her hand.* These Gollas claim to be their descendants. In course of time, the Gollas came to live in Brindāvan, following the profession of cattle-tending and selling milk and curds. It is commonly stated that Krishna mixed largely with Golla maidens, and hence the Gollas claim to belong to the Yādava clan, in which Sri Krishna was born. In the beginning of the *Kali Yuga*, they say, they were living in Repalli, from whence they migrated into the south during the time of one Rājanarēndra, for want of patrons in their native country.

The Gollas have a history of their former greatness. "In the country round Mādgole, legends are still current about a line of Golla chieftains who gave their name to Golconda and built the forts of which traces still survive in those parts. Each Telugu New Year's day, it is stated that Gollas came across from Godavary and went round the Golla villages, reciting the names of progenitors of the fallen line, and exhibiting paintings

* The story is given in the Mahabharata, Adiparva.

illustrating of their defeat and downfall. At Vajragada (diamond fort) are the ruins of a very large fortress, and local tradition gives the names of seven forts by which it was once defended. They are said to have been constructed by Golla kings. There is a story of their having kidnapped a daughter and held out her against his attacks for months until they were betrayed by a woman of their own caste who showed the enemy how to cut off their water-supply. They then slew their womankind and dashed out against the besiegers and fell to a man fighting to the last.”*

Formerly a section of the Gollas styled Bigamudreyavaru (of the lock and the seal) were the custodians of the Treasury. They were noted for their staunch loyalty, and in the days of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan they were employed in guarding and transporting treasure. Even now, the menials who open and lock the Government Treasury and handle the money bags, are known as Gollas.

Buchanan writes about them as follows :—

“ It is said that they may be safely intrusted with any sum ; for, each man carrying a certain value, they travel in bodies numerous in proportion to the sum put under their charge ; and they consider themselves bound in honour to die in defence of their trust ; of course, they defend themselves vigorously, and are all armed ; so that robbers never venture to attack them. They have hereditary chiefs called Gottugāru, who with the usual council settle all disputes, and punish all transgressions against the rules of caste. The most flagrant is the embezzlement of money entrusted to their care. On this crime being proved against any of the caste, the Gottugāru applies to the Amildar, or Civil Magistrate, and, having obtained his leave, immediately causes the delinquent to be shot.”

The Gollas numbered 155,978 at the last census, 79,612 being males and 76,366 females.

POPULATION
AND DIS-
TRIBUTION.

* *Gazetteer of the Visagapatam District.*

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE GOLLAS ACCORDING TO DISTRICTS AND TALUKS IS GIVEN BELOW :—

District	Total	Males	Females
Bangalore City	1,949	996	953
Bangalore District	18,368	9,390	8,978
Kolar do	20,592	10,400	10,192
Tumkur do	50,553	25,699	24,854
Mysore City	1,079	551	528
Mysore District	2,864	1,622	1,242
Chitaldrug do	45,123	23,069	22,054
Hassan do	6,741	3,339	3,402
Kadur do	3,010	1,536	1,474
Shimoga do	2,931	1,564	1,367
Bangalore Civil and Military Station	1,341	708	633

Taluks having a population of 2,000 and more :—

Bangalore District—			
Dodballapur Taluk	4,161	2,136	2,025
Magadi do	2,094	1,088	1,006
Kolar District—			
Mulbagal Taluk	3,301	1,605	1,696
Chintamani do	2,577	1,261	1,316
Siddlaghatta do	3,365	1,709	1,656
Goribidnur do	3,351	1,780	1,571
Tumkur District—			
Tumkur Taluk	3,919	2,006	1,913
Maddagiri do	6,327	3,274	3,053
Sira do	11,040	5,561	5,479
Pavagada do	7,579	3,849	3,730
Chiknayakanhalli Taluk	4,735	2,408	2,327
Gubbi do	8,798	4,487	4,311
Tiptur do	2,754	1,347	1,407
Chitaldrug District—			
Chitaldrug Taluk	7,192	3,712	3,480
Challakere do	9,470	4,895	4,575
Molkalmuru do	2,795	1,425	1,370
Jagalur do	3,358	1,717	1,641
Holalkere do	4,460	2,255	2,205
Hosdurga do	4,603	2,261	2,342
Hiriyur do	11,393	5,827	5,566
Hassan District—			
Arasikere Taluk	4,612	2,288	2,324

The Gollas are divided into a number of endogamous groups, though it is difficult to make out the *ratio dividendi* in each case. Two main divisions are known by the names Onti-Chapparamu-Vallu, and Rendu-Chapparamu-Vallu, the former erecting only one Chappara, or marriage-pandal, and the latter two pandals, one before the bride's and the other before the bride-groom's house. The chief endogamous groups are :—

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

1. Yerra or Kilāri Gollas, said to be the descendants of a Brāhman with a Golla woman,
2. Punagu or Kudi Paitala Gollas,
3. Karṇē Gollas,
4. Pūni or Pūje Gollas,
5. Bigamudre or Bokkasa Gollas,
6. Kanchu Gollas,
7. Rācha Gollas,
8. Mushti Gollas (beggars and exorcists).

There are probably some more. The members of these divisions eat together, but do not intermarry.

Yerra and Kilāri Gollas appear to be superior to the other divisions, and put on the sacred thread during marriages. Among the Karne Gollas there is a family styled Asādi Gollas who, like the Mādigas, beat on the drum and sing the praises of Māramma, during the festivals held in honour of the village goddess, but are otherwise regarded as in no way inferior to the rest. In some places, the members of this division are regarded as servants of the caste, corresponding to Kolkars.

Bigamudre, or Bokkasa Gollas (Gollas of the lock and key section), are so called because they were the guards of the Treasury in former times.

The people of the two-marriage-booths division eschew flesh of any kind during marriages till the

nagavali is over. The meanings of the names of the other divisions are not known.

**EXOAMOUS
CLANS.**

Like many other Telugu castes, the Gollas have a large number of exogamous clans or septs named after some plant, animal or other object, and the members belonging to the same clan are looked upon as brothers and sisters, whether there is any traceable relationship or not. The sexual union between a man and a woman of the same clan is looked upon as improper, and renders the parties liable to expulsion from the caste. Another peculiarity is that if the object representing any division is not known or ascertainable, the members of that division treat the millet (*Panicum*) known as *navane*, as the sacred object. It is generally said that there are 101 exogamous septs, but this is probably an exaggeration. A list of some exogamous clans with the names of the material objects represented by them is given below :—

Alasandula	.. Beans.	Kommalu	.. horns.
Âne	.. Elephant.	Korla	.. Panicum grain.
Asadi	..	Kurimilla	.. .. .
Bale	.. Plantain.	Machchal	.. A fish.
Bandaram	.. ....	Maddi	.. A timber tree.
Bandi	.. Carl.	Majjige	.. Butter-milk.
Bidigallu	.. Golf.	Mallels	.. Jasmine.
Bodi	.. ....	Mandala	.. A herd.
Bumagana	.. ....	Malupavula	.. The people of this section eschew the milk, etc., of a cow or a buffalo whose calf is dead.
Dyavollu	.. ....	
Devadari	.. Deodar tree.		
Ellagala	.. ....	
Ganda	.. Sandal.	Mapitti	.. Date tree.
Gannerla	.. Sweet basil.	Manga	.. A monkey.
Ganta	.. Saddle.	Matti Avula	.. A spotted cow.
Gorimilla	.. A herb.	Marala	.. A banyan tree.
Guba	.. An owl.	Modaga	.. <i>Butea fremdosa</i> .
Guna	.. Hunch-backed.		.. bastard teak.
I'ja	.. A plant.		
Jambu	.. A reed.	Mekala	.. A goat.
Kare	.. A prickly plant.	Muchohara	.. They do not eat panicum grain.
Kavadi	.. A pole with slings on either side.		

Munaga	.. Horse-radish	Sadlu	.. They do not eat panicum grain.
Nagala	.. Cobra.		
Naggilu	.. A prickly plant.	Ramollu	.. ....
Paladi	.. A herb.	Sasuve	.. Mustard.
Palle	.. ....	Sampige	.. Champaka-tree.
Palu	.. Milk or a herb.	Simha	.. A lion.
Pasupu	.. Turmeric.	Setty	.. ....
Pavalu	.. ....	Toralu	.. It is said that they do not eat after sunset, if they hear the sound of a flute.
Potalu	.. A ram.		
Puli	.. A plant.		
Puligorlu	.. The claws of a tiger.	Suraponna	.. A tree.
Pusangala	.. ....	Tummi	.. A timber tree.
Purigi	.. ....	Tubara	.. A tree.
Rali	.. A plant.	Ulavalu	.. Horse-gram.
Ragi	.. Peepul-tree.		

Marriage is generally between adults, but, as in other similar castes, there is a feeling that infant marriages are more respectable. They even say that adult marriages are an innovation, though the reverse is probably the truth. Boys are not generally married before they are twenty, and the parents arrange the match for both parties. Polygamy is allowed, but it is not, as a rule, practised except for such good reasons as absence of issue by the first marriage, or incurable disease of the first wife. When a man marries for the second time, during the life-time of the first wife, he generally obtains her consent. Polyandry is unknown. A person, whether male or female, may remain unmarried without incurring any social odium, but an unmarried woman is not admitted to all the privileges of one in the married state. Thus she may not touch the bridal pair, or carry the *kalāṣa* at a marriage procession. When such persons die, their funeral ceremonies are not observed in an elaborate manner, but are finished within three days. Sometimes, however, they are elevated after death to the rank of *Iragararu*, and worshipped in that guise.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.

Gollas are rather punctilious in the matter of contracting marriage relationship. They do not go beyond the place of previous alliances, thus practically still further splitting the recognised endogamous groups. But within the recognised circle, there are no prohibitions based on such adventitious conditions as social or religious status, distant living, etc. They have exogamous divisions known as *bedagūs* or *kulās*, the relationship to which is always traced through males. Marriage with the daughter of a maternal aunt, or of a paternal uncle is considered equal to a sister, and union with her is regarded as incestuous. Two sisters may be married to the same man or to two brothers. The division or sept in which one's own mother was born is preferred to other *kulas* for marriage. The other relationship should not be that of a brother or sister by analogy, or parent and child. By the operation of this rule marriages are sometimes prohibited between persons of two divisions which are connected with a third by marriage. Exchange of daughters is allowed, but is viewed with disfavour, except when the parties are poor.

The offer of marriage generally comes from the father of the boy; but when the match is between the boy and his sister's or maternal uncle's daughter, the negotiations may be commenced by either party. The usual preliminary negotiations are carried on, and the marriage generally takes place in the boy's house.

Marriage proper lasts for five days, during which time both the families are very busy. On the first day, the boy and the girl are anointed with oil and bathed in their houses. The boy is shaved and then rubbed with turmeric and bathed again. This is the first smearing of turmeric. Some matrons, after bathing, go in the pure state to an ant-hill,

and worshipping it in the usual fashion, pour milk into the snake-holes. On their returning home, a *kaḷāśa* is set up in the central part of the house, and is worshipped in the names of all the deceased ancestors, by placing new cloths and jewels near it, and offering incense and cocoanuts. Then a cocoanut is offered to the family god, and a dinner, called *Dēvarūta* (God's feast) is given to the castemen. Five married women are presented with glass bangles, to propitiate the deceased female ancestors.

The *pandals* are next erected (one before each house in the case of the "two *pandals*" section, and only one in other cases) with twelve pillars, a branch of the fig-tree brought by the maternal uncle being tied to a central pillar. *Arivenis* (sacred pots) are brought in by married women and placed apart in a room on a bed of ant-hill earth and manure. Lamps are lighted near them, and seed cakes, strung together on a string, are suspended before them. The nine kinds of staple grains are sown in the earthen dishes by married women.

Among the *Karāṇi Golla* section is observed, at mid-night this day, the ceremony of *biragudi śāstra*. Two persons of the bride's house, and an unmarried man and a woman, and two persons of the bride-groom's house fast from morning. At about 11 o'clock at night, these four persons bathe and put on washed clothes. They are taken, in state, under a canopy to a place where three paths meet. There a spot is cleaned with cow-dung and water and drawing of a human figure is made with *raṅgōli* (quartz powder). *Pūja* is done to it on a plantain leaf with offerings of cooked rice, 101 sweet cakes, 101 betel-leaves, 101 arecanuts, glass bangles, etc. A small fire is kindled before it, and the four persons go round and round the fire. Then *prasāda* is distributed to all, and they

return home without making any noise. Then they worship the *arivenis*.

Early in the morning of the next day, the bridegroom and his brother are seated together and rubbed with turmeric. A barber pares the toenails of the bridegroom after which he is seated within a square formed by placing four vessels to represent its corners. The bridegroom is bathed in *maleniru* (water from the hill stream). While yet in wet clothes, his maternal uncle lifts him and carries him bodily, and, depositing him at a distance in a wicker basket, kicks away the vessels and walks backwards. This is styled the ceremony of freeing from bondage (*Sere bidisuvudu*). The maternal uncle is then dismissed with the present of a *tāmbula*. The bridegroom puts on fresh clothes, and goes out in state to a temple. The bride is likewise bathed in *maleniru*, and is also "freed from bondage."

The bridegroom and his party come from the temple, and are stopped near the entrance of the *pandal*. Overcoming this mock obstruction, the bridegroom enters and sits on the marriage dais, and the bride, clothed in wedding-dress, is brought and seated opposite to him. The Brahman *purohit* chants *mantras*, and the placing of jaggery and gingelly on each other's head, tying of *kankanas*, *tāli* tying, and the *dhāre* take place in succession, as among the Morasu Okkalu. Then the rice-pouring ceremony takes place, and the married women put *sase* to the bridal pair. *Pan-supari* is distributed to the whole assembly.

Then the couple rise, holding each other by the hand, and with the hems of their garment tied together. They are taken round the milk-post thrice, and are shown the star, Arundhati. They then go into the *arivēni* room, bow to the pots, and eat *būvva* served in a single dish. Then a general

dinner is given to all the relatives. Among the "*two pandals*" section of Gollas, the whole ceremony is repeated in the evening before the bride's house. This is called the second *dhāre*.

Next day, the *bandāri*, or the *pūjāri* of the caste, worships the *arivēni*, and the new-married couple have to eat a second *būva*. This afternoon, the worshipping of *simhasana* takes place. The *bandāri* officiates at this, and distributes the betel-leaves and nuts in a cup in the prescribed order, under the direction of the headman of the caste. It is said that for every one cup he distributes, he gets his customary fee of two leaves and two nuts.

Next day, the worship of the pillars takes place, with the earth brought from the ant-hill, and other offerings. This is called *nagavali*. Then the couple are seated on Kundanagalu (hollow wooden frames to be kept on the mortar when pounding rice), and the pot-searching takes place. They are then made to play at house-keeping. A doll is put in the man's hand, and he transfers it to the wife with the formula that he has work in the field, and so she should take the child, and she again, in her turn, hands the child back, as milk is boiling over and may be spilt if she does not go. In the evening, the couple are taken in state to a field, where the bridegroom ploughs. The bride brings food, and her husband has to eat it at her request. Then the water kept in the *arivēni* pots is taken to a well with the sprouts of grain sown in dishes, and thrown into a well. On return, a part of the *pandal* is removed, and in the night, the bridal procession takes place.

Next day, the newly married couple, with some relations, go to the bride's village and remain there for a day or two and return, leaving the girl there.

It is said, that, in the houses of Yerra Gollas, all the marriage ceremonies, including the *dhāre* and the *tāli*-tying are observed in the night, and the marriage is over before the dawn of the next day.

The bride-price called *oli* in Telugu and *tera* in Canarese, is Rs. 15; the amount varies in different places and sometimes well-to-do parents do not demand it at all. It is said that a widower has to pay an additional sum which is often given in the form of an extra jewel to the wife. There is a story current that formerly the *tera* was 101 pagodas, and that many Gollas had to go without marriage, and therefore to grow their beards long; for by the prevailing custom, unmarried men were not then allowed to shave their hair. The evil became so great that one of the kings of Vijayanagar found it necessary to fix a scale of marriage expenses by a royal mandate, issued in consultation with the leaders of the caste. The *tera* was reduced to six rupees, and a half, and the presents to the bride were to consist of a *tāli* of half pagoda of gold, silver bangles worth three rupees, a silver armlet worth seven rupees, and ear plugs worth ten rupees. This brought about a large number of marriages at once, and for want of time to erect marriage-pandals, they performed them, it is said, under *avarike* and *bandari* plants.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl is married before puberty, she remains in her parent's house till she comes of age. When she attains puberty, she is considered unclean for 16 days, during the first three nights of which she remains in a shed made of green leaves. During this period, the leaves are renewed, so that the covering may always be green.* As in other castes, the girl is exhibited every evening in the company

* Formerly the girl used to be kept, it is said, at a distance from the village. This practice is still observed by the Kādu Gollas.

of married women, who fill her garments with presents of fruit, cocoanuts, etc. Her mother-in-law, if the girl is married, or the maternal uncle's family, bear the expenses of one day's *osage*. After bathing on the 16th day, the girl does Ganga *pūja*, and is rid of the impurity. In her periodical sickness, a woman is treated as unclean for three days and becomes pure after bathing and putting on washed clothes on the fourth day. In the case of a girl who has attained puberty before marriage, consummation is put off for three months thereafter. This has resulted in a customary rule that such a girl may live with her husband only after offering *bāgina* to the Gauri at the Gauri feast, which occurs in the *Bhadrapada* month, exactly three months after the close of the marriage season.

A pregnant woman is considered to be specially liable to the evil influence of spirits, and is not allowed to go out alone in the evenings. She is generally taken to her father's house, and they take special care of her. A pregnant woman is not allowed to see an eclipse, and the shadow of the night birds should not fall on her person. In cases of hard labour, a *chunam* pot is broken at a place where three paths meet.

PREGNANCY
AND CHILD-
BIRTH.

On the birth of a child, the woman is considered impure for ten days. She is confined to a room, and at the entrance, a winnow and an old shoe are kept to ward off evil spirits. The midwife who attends the delivery gets a present of a *hana* (4 as. 8 p.) for a male child, and half that amount for a female. On the third day, the child is washed, and *ārati* is waved before it. Neighbours pay a visit to her in the confinement room, bringing with them presents of old clothes and castor oil to the child. The mother is given some stimulating drugs. On

even days, such as the second and the fourth, the mother and the child are taken special care of, and the door of the room is kept almost closed, lest evil spirits should attack them. On the eleventh or any other subsequent odd day, the mother and the child are bathed in hot water, prepared by immersing certain green leaves and *omam* roots. The water is consecrated in a new earthen pot in the usual way, and the pit ceremony is performed as in other castes. After bathing, the mother warms herself by bending over a fire pan in which *omam* roots are thrown so as to allow the smoke to spread over the whole body to keep off cold. Then a wristlet, made of black woollen thread, with the roots of *baje* (*Acorus calamus*), and a waist-thread, if male, are tied to the child. Then the usual dinner is given to all the caste-men. The *agnates* get rid of pollution by a bath.

POST-NATAL
CEREMONIES.

In the evening, an elderly woman consults a soothsayer for the name to be given to the child. There is no peculiarity in the names, but as the Gollas are mostly Vaishnavas, the names of God Vishnu are generally chosen. But the names of God Siva are not avoided, and there are many Gollas who are followers of this God. Names taken after the minor gods and goddesses are also found in the caste. Opprobrious names are sometimes given, and for the same reason as in other castes. Nicknames, such as *dongu*, the crooked or *gujja*, the dwarf and names of endearment like *puttu* or *magu*, are also common. In the third month, the mother and the child are taken to a river, after bathing, to worship Ganga (water goddess), by the offering of turmeric, *kunkuma* (vermilion), and cocoa-nut. Then in the evening, the mother and child are taken to a temple, where the god is worshipped, and *tirtha* is sprinkled on them. The woman gets rid of the pollution

completely, and may attend to the household duties thereafter. The child is weaned only after two years.

The first tonsure ceremony for the child, whether male or female, takes place near the temple of their family god, in the third year. The barber is presented with a *hana* for a male, and half an *hana* for a female child, together with a new cloth and provisions. The child, after bathing, is taken into the temple, where the god is worshipped, and *tirtha* and *prasāda* are given to it. In the evening, the ear-lobes are pierced with a pin, and a pair of ear-rings are presented by the maternal uncle. The relatives of the child, who have gathered by invitation, present the child with some coins and fried grain, and they all return home in procession.

Widows are not allowed to remarry. But if a widow lives in concubinage with one of her own castemen, they do not outcaste her. Her issue belongs to a distinct line; and though intermarriage is prohibited with them, the members of the caste do not object to dine in their company. The husband may renounce his wife for unchastity or loss of caste, and the wife may also separate herself from her husband for habitual ill-treatment, or his loss of caste. When divorce is effected, the head of the caste and the *panchayats* meet, and adjudge separation. The divorced woman may not remarry, but may live in the keeping of a man of the same caste. Adultery with a man of a different caste entails expulsion from the caste. It is generally looked upon as degrading, though occasionally it is condoned by payment of a small fine. Gollas do not permit a girl to be dedicated as a Basavi. It is said that there is a wandering section of the

WIDOW
MARRIAGE
AND
DIVORCE.

caste, devotees of the goddess Yellamma, who have this practice. But none of them are found in this State.

INHERIT-
ANCE AND
ADOPTION.

They follow the Hindu Law of inheritance and the rules of partition are the same as in Morasu Okkalu caste.

Adoption is allowed and practised, the son of a brother or other near *agnate*, being taken by preference. They say they may adopt the son of either a sister or even a daughter. The ceremony observed is the same as in other castes, such as renewal of the boy's waist-thread, and a caste dinner. *Illatam* is common in the Telugu parts of the State, and an *Illatam* son-in-law gets a share in the property, equal to that of a son, and in the absence of any sons, becomes sole heir to his father-in-law.

SOCIAL
ORGANIZA-
TION.

Gollas have a well-defined caste organization. They have groups styled *kattemanes* under the headship of a *yajaman* and a *gaudi*, who settle all questions affecting the discipline of the members. Under these is the *bandāri* who is the beadle, and as such, is bound to call together the castemen whenever there is any necessity. The offices of these functionaries are hereditary, and they get some customary fees on all important occasions. Among the Karāni Gollas, the office of headman now belongs to a person of the Davodu division, having been transferred to them from the Rājollu division. The explanation given is, that the latter had to give up their superior privileges, as a woman of the other division whom they looked down upon as defiled, proved her superior virtue by cutting off a limb of a sheep and making it whole again. Ever since, the first *tambula* at marriages has been given to a member of this division.

Gollas are Vaishṇavas and worship Krishna under RELIGION. various names. Some of them have also adopted Śiva as their family deity. They also worship minor deities such as Māramma, Yellamma and Gangamma, and also sacred animals and trees. Persons of their family dying as bachelors, are deified as *Iragāraru*, and their figures are cut on stone slabs as riding on horse-back and are set up in fields with female figures on either side. *Pūja* is offered to these images on feast days as on the new-year's day.

The Karāṇi Gollas of the Kolar District have four *mathas* situated in Gūlur (Bāgepalli Taluk) founded in honour of certain saints of their caste, to whom *pūja* is offered in those places, by the devotees who go there on pilgrimage. Rājula *matha* and Purigōṇi *matha* were set up by two brothers of this caste named Peddarāju and Chinnarāju; Dēvōṇi *matha* and Mēkalōṇi *matha* have one Bommala and Dēvaru as their patron saint. The headmen of the caste residing in this village have charge of these institutions.

The most important of the feasts observed by the FEASTS. Gollas is the Sankrānti (13th or 14th January). The feast is dedicated to the worship of the god Kāṭamarāya. All bathe in the morning, wash their cattle, and paint their horns with red and white stripes. The boys grazing the cattle are given fresh holiday clothes (after a sumptuous dinner) and are sent to graze their herds. In the evening when the cattle are returning from the pasture grounds, a bonfire is prepared outside the village, and the cattle are driven through the flames. On the boys reaching home with the cattle, cooked rice and sweet cakes are given to them to eat. In some places, it is the practice to boil pods of *avare* with salt and to give them to the cows and buffaloes. Milk is boiled in the courtyard and distributed to all.

Mushti Gollas perform periodically another cattle-feast, (Avula Pandaga). Contributions are levied among them, and all meet at a particular place. A bull (an uncastrated one) decorated, and fully caparisoned, is taken in state to the courtyard of their temple, and is made to lie down on a *kambli*. The *pūjari* worships it in the usual fashion, and it is fed with milk, rice and sugar boiled together. *Mangalārati* is waved and *prasāda* is distributed to all present. Then the bull returns to its usual place with the same honours as on arrival. They hold a general feasting, and the poor people of the other castes are also fed on the occasion.

The Puje Gollas occasionally hold meetings called Nandana Gudāramu (Nanda's tent), when they exhibit a number of Krishna's pictures descriptive of different feasts. One of the elderly men assembled recites stories about Krishna in whose honour they perform the *pūja*, and have a feast. They worship Ganga, the goddess of water.

The dedication of men as Dāsaiyyas for the service of God is very common among Gollas. The novice is branded with the marks of *Sankha* and *Chakra* on his arms and is presented with a begging pouch. The dedication takes place when the boy is about ten years old. The presence of Dāsaiyyas is necessary at all their religious ceremonies.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Gollas bury the dead, but the dead bodies of those suffering from leprosy and other cutaneous diseases are cremated. Just before death, a bit of gold, or a *hana*, and some leaves of *tulasi*, are put into the mouth of the dying person, and all the nearest relatives pour some water into his mouth as their last service. When life is extinct, the body is bathed in warm water and a fire is kindled in front of the house.*

* It is considered inauspicious to kindle a fire right in front of a dwelling house on other occasions.

Dāsaiyyas are invited, and they beat on a gong and blow a trumpet to announce the event. The chief mourner cooks rice in a new earthen pot before the house. The body is wrapped in a shroud, and placed on a bier made of bamboos. A little rice is tied in a corner of the shroud, and the relatives put some rice on the closed eyes of the dead body. It is then carried by four men on their shoulders, accompanied by a band, drum-beating and gun-firings. As the corpse is passing, betel-leaves and parched rice are thrown on it. As in other castes, the body is placed on the ground half-way to the burial-ground, and the carriers change sides. Then it is carried to the burial ground, where a grave has been dug and kept ready. The son gets his head and moustache shaved, and then the dead body is lowered into the grave. The shroud is thrown away and the body is buried quite naked, the chief mourner putting in the first sod of earth, followed by the other relatives of the dead person. A water-pot is, as usual, broken on the grave after it is closed up. Then all go to a water-course, have a plunge in it and with wet clothes go home, to see a lamp kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. They bury the dead with the face downwards and the head turned to the south. They do not bury anything with the dead body, the popular saying being that, as a man came into the world, so he must go out of it. When a man dies and is buried on a Tuesday or a Friday, a wooden door-bolt and live chicken are buried with the body.*

The third day ceremony is observed as among other castes.† Among the Kilari Gollas, an extra ceremony is observed on the 7th day, when a *kalasa*

* This practice is traced to a popular belief that when a man dies and is buried on a Tuesday or a Friday, this will be followed by two more deaths in the village. The bolt and the chicken are intended as substitutes for the two persons.

† See *Moraru Okkalu*.

is worshipped along with all the jewels and clothes which the deceased wore when alive. The eleventh day ceremony is observed as usual. The Kilāri Gollas make the figure of a man out of *kusa* grass, carry it on a bier to the burial ground and cremate it on the eleventh day. The ashes are collected, and a human figure is drawn thereon, which is worshipped with the offerings of an *yede* (food) and milk. They then throw the ashes into water, bathe and return home. A Brāhman is invited to purify the house, and the rest of the eleventh day ceremony is observed as among the Morasu Okkalus.

Gollas have a large section known as Dēsabhāga-davāru of Tirunāmadhāries, who are branded with symbols of the Vaishṇava faith, Sankha and Chakra. Among them, as soon as a man dies, a Sātāni priest is called in to officiate at the ceremonies. He makes the symbol of a *chakra* near the corpse, offers it cooked food and liquor, distributes some of it as *prasada* to the relatives of the deceased and partakes of the remainder. These people do not observe the third day ceremony, but perform a similar one on the fifth day. On the midnight of the eleventh day, the chief mourner and the other immediate relatives resort to the burial ground with cooked food and a large quantity of liquor. The Sātāni priest, who accompanies them, draws a figure of the deceased on the grave, and offers to it food and liquor, of which he tastes a little. When they return home, he instals a *kalāṣa* in the central part of the house and more liquor is brought in and offered to the *kalāṣa*. After *pūja*, all the members of the family, both male and female, with their friends of the same faith (Dēsabhāga), join together and drink copiously, all differences of caste and sex being forgotten. All this, however, is kept secret, and strangers even of their own caste who do not

drink (and are known as Mullujana) are strictly excluded.

Gollas observe pollution for ten days, but the more distant relatives bathe on the fourth day. During the period of pollution, they do not use their caste mark or eat sugar or flesh. They do not perform *Srādhās* but observe the *Mahālaya* new-moon day when they offer an *yede* to a *kalāṣa* in the names of all the deceased ancestors and distribute doles of raw rations to Brāhmans. That day, some people go in the evening to the burial-ground, apply sandal to their family graves, burn frankincense, break cocoanuts and pray to the spirits of the ancestors to keep them and their families safe. They cook their food and eat it after returning home.

Their original occupation was the tending of cattle and selling milk and its products. They are, however, now to be found in all professions such as agriculture, carpentry, brick-laying and Government service. Some are day labourers also. Their caste status is not affected by their following any of these professions. OCCUPATION.

Gollas generally keep a number of cattle and sheep. They impound the latter in a fold built for them in their fields. They have a curious ceremony for ridding their cattle of an epidemic of foot and mouth disease. On a Tuesday, a Pillāri or a cone of cow-dung is set up on a cleaned spot near the fold and cotton threads dipped in turmeric are tied to a sheep and a ram. Frankincense is burnt and cocoanuts are broken, and offerings of cooked food are placed near the Pillāri. Then a boy in *madi* is presented with betel-leaves, nuts, and the cooked food, and is made to go away limping; water with cow-dung is sprinkled behind him. This is called in Telugu *Kuntu Velli* (driving away the limping disease), and the boy is believed to carry away the disease with him.

SOCIAL
STATUS.

The Gollas are fairly high in the social scale. In the Madras Presidency, they are allowed to mix freely with the Kāppu, Kamma, and Baliya castes and the Brāhmins take buttermilk from their hands.

Gollas belong to the Nine Phana group or the Left Hand section and are ranked high in the social scale, coming next only to Okkaligas, in whose house they are allowed to dine. They are flesh-eaters but abstain from drink, though the latter practice is not prohibited by any caste rules. They do not admit outsiders into their caste, but persons going against their own caste rules, such as eating with a lower caste man, may be readmitted after a purificatory process, which is the same as in other castes.

APPEAR-
ANCE, DRESS
AND ORNA-
MENTS.

The Gollas are generally dark or dark-brown. They are strongly built and are of average stature. There is nothing peculiar in the dress or ornaments of Gollas, except that their women do not generally wear bodice. They sometimes play on a bamboo flute to while away their time while grazing. Gollas never ride on the back of a bullock. The ornaments worn by Golla women are *jada bille* or *theruppu*, the ear-ring or *bendole*, the *tāli* (marriage badge) and necklets of gold, bracelets of silver, glass bangles and silver waist band.

From the foregoing account, it is seen that the Uru Gollas of Mysore are a thoroughly local caste who have cast back to Mathura and Gopi. Most of them live in villages. It used to be the duty or privilege of the Golla to guard State treasure in transit, and the official now responsible for sending off the remittances, is still occasionally called by that name, although he may be Brāhman or Muslim. They are on this account called Dhanapāla. They worship Krishna.



KADU GOLLA HABITATIONS.

KĀDU GOLLA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
 HABITATIONS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE, ENDO-
 GAMOUS GROUPS, EXOGAMOUS CLANS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS
 AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—
 ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—TRI-
 BAL CONSTITUTION—RELIGION—DEATH AND FUNERAL CERE-
 MONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE
 CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—GAMES—
 CONCLUSION.

KĀDU Gollas (wild cowherds) are scattered over the districts of Bangalore, Tumkur and Chitaldrug. Though bearing a common name, they differ very widely in habits and customs from the Ūru Gollas (Gollas living in villages) and merit a separate treatment. The word *Golla* means a cowherd, and *Kādu-Golla* means a wild cowherd. They are so called because their dwellings are always erected outside a village, so as to command the view of waste or jungle land, capable of affording pasture for their cattle. They are also known as Kalli-Gollas, as their hamlets are usually surrounded by a hedge of the milkbush (*Eugeni tirukalli*). The names which they themselves use are Yādavakuladavāru or Krishnakuladavāru as they believe that Krishna, who was of the Yādava race, was brought up among the women of their caste, known as Gōpis. They also style themselves people of Gōkula (cow-tribe), either because they trace their origin to a cow or because they are professional cowherds. The caste titles which they affix to their names are Golla, Golla Gauda, or Gauda. They invariably speak Canarese in the State, and are said to have adopted

INTRODUC-
TION.

the language prevailing wherever they settled, having no distinct language of their own.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE
CASTE.

Tradition states that their original place was Delhi and its neighbourhood, and that, being unable to suffer the persecution of the Mussalman rulers, their chief men migrated to the south. Two of them, Arimēre Gauda and Mēre Rāmē Gauda, remained together for a long time at a place called Rāmanahalli, after which the former separated and went to a place called Uttaragutti. He had seven strong limbed sons, and seven handsome daughters, and amassed considerable wealth. The damsels attracted the attention of the chief of the place, Rāmasulivarāha,* who, failing to obtain them by fair means, seized them by force when they had gone to sell milk and butter. Six of the damsels however escaped to their relatives, who then migrated farther south; but their cousins, the descendants of Mēre Rāmē Gauda who had settled near Monadihalli, did not associate with them, as they had been separated for more than two hundred years. They had to move still farther south, and after a weary time of wandering, settled in Māgadi, in the Bangalore District.

They brought an idol of their deity called Chitra-dēvaru from Delhi, and consecrated it, after holding an elaborate feast in its honour at Magadi. They spread to Ratnagiri, when one of their girls was married to a Rāja of the place. The descendants of this union are called Kambera Gollaru, and are looked upon as inferior to other Gollas. All this is stated to have occurred before 1271 of the Sālivāhana Era. There were further migrations, and they mingled with various local tribes in the course of their wanderings, and gave rise to many sub-divisions.

* It is said that the gold coin known as Rama-tenke-varaha (worth about Rs. 25) was struck in his reign.



A GROUP OF MALE KADU GOLLAS.

Two of the sub-divisions (Arinavāru and Mēranavāru) are said to be the descendants of Golla girls who married two brothers of the Beda caste, Are-rāya and Mere-rāya. Their father, who was a free-booter, was taken prisoner by a Beda chieftain, and the girls, who were seen to carry food to him by stealth, were prevailed upon to marry these lieutenants of the chief in consideration of their father's release.

The Kādu Gollas live in villages in the neighbourhood of lands affording abundant pasturage and facilities for cultivation. Their villages are hedged round with prickly-pears, or thorns of Jali, or with milk-bushes. They were probably once nomadic, but are now settled in villages of their own, though they change to new spots once in every four or five years, or whenever their cattle die in large numbers, or some pollution is suspected to have affected the village. Their houses are thatched, and are only supported by pillars. Mud walls are sometimes employed to support the thatch, but the use of pillars ensures prosperity. They do not use doors for their houses, but close the passage with thorns. On no account should they live in mud-roofed houses. The shape of the roof may be gabled, or rounded, but that of the temple-house is always of the latter type. The roof may consist of a thatch of hay, or leaves, but a temple is always constructed with plantain leaves. Each village is generally composed of a number of families of the same exogamous group. Their articles of furniture and domestic utensils are very few and correspond to those of the Myāsa Bedas and other jungle tribes.

HABITATIONS.

Their chief place in this State is Hagalwadi, in the Gubbi Taluk, where their Hero God is believed to be still present.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE CASTE:
ENDOGENOUS
GROUPS.

Kādu Gollas do not mix in any respect with others who bear the same name such as Uru Gollaru, Keṭṭa Haṭṭi Gollaru and Maddina Gollaru. Each of these divisions virtually forms a separate caste. The Kādu Gollas do not even allow people of the other Golla tribes into their hamlets, as they drink freely and are supposed to be inferior in blood. Their hospitality only goes so far as to drop food into the hands of a guest of these tribes, from the other side of a hedge. The metallic vessels touched by the guest are cleaned with tamarind and cow-dung before they may be used by them. Uru-Gollas, or Gollas living in towns, are considered inferior, on account of their indulging in intoxicant drinks. Keṭṭa Haṭṭi Gollas are so called because they are considered to have lost caste by mingling with those of a lower caste-status. The Kādu-Gollas carry their aversion to these so far as to avoid their very sight, deeming it inauspicious. Maddina Gollas are those that sell drugs obtained from forest produce.

EXOGENOUS
CLANS.

The Kādu-Gollas are composed of three primary exogamous clans known as Chitta Muttur as also styled Karadi Gollaru (Bear tribe), Chandranoru (Moon tribe) and Ramegaudanakuladavāru (Ramē Gauda's descendants).

Each of these is divided into sub-divisions, but all belonging to one primary division are prohibited from marrying within the same sept or clan.

Karadi Gollas are so called because their ancestor is believed to have been nourished by a bear.

They are in some places identified with Kambara Gollaru. There is a story that a petty Raja of Ratnagiri felt his dignity wounded when a goat reared by a Golla had the audacity to graze on his ramparts. For this grave offence he levied the penalty of the owner supplying a potful of milk

ever after that to his palace. The Gollas of this family are since known as Kambera Gollaru, and they all form a single exogamous sept, which may contract relationship only with Are-nōru.

Regarding Chandranavāru (moon-tribe) a vague story is given of a princess conceiving by association with the moon, and of the Gollas owing their origin to her. The girl being suspected of unchastity, her father placed her in confinement, but he was convinced of her innocence in this respect by seeing that a cow carefully kept away from contact with bulls still brought forth a calf at the mere sound of a bull reaching her ears from outside. It is even stated that the princess and the bull-calf were sent to a jungle and together produced two persons Chanda-mutti and Sandalkatamma, who survived the deluge by hiding under the Gōvardhana mountain. By the grace of Iswara, they became husband and wife and gave rise to the two tribes of Gollas, known after them as Chandamutti and Chittamutti.

Huruliyavaru (Gram-tribe) are those Gollas who do not eat or touch gram. The priest or *yajman* belonging to this sept does not even pass through the field in which gram is grown ; if compelled by necessity, he is to be carried over by those who do not belong to this sept.

A list of exogamous clans is given below :—

I. *Chittamutturu*—

- | | | |
|-----------------|----|----------|
| 1. Karadiyavaru | .. | .. Bear. |
| 2. Kamberu | .. | .. Pot. |

II. *Chandinavaru*—

- | | | |
|--------------------|----|----------------|
| 1. Ajjoru | .. | .. |
| 2. Arsikalliyavaru | .. | .. Milk-hedge. |
| 3. Konanavāru | .. | .. He-buffalo. |
| 4. Polanavaru | .. | .. |
| 5. Somanavāru | .. | .. Moon. |
| 6. Yagadinavaru | .. | .. |

III. *Ramegowdanakuladavaru*—

- | | | |
|---------------|----|--------------------|
| 1. Areraya | .. | .. Name of person. |
| 2. Arenavaru | .. | .. A plant. |
| 3. Merenavaru | .. | .. Flail. |

III. *Ramegowdanakuladavaru*—concl'd.

- | | | |
|---------------------|----|---------------------|
| 4. Belloru | .. | .. A hoe. |
| 5. Belluravaru | .. | .. Name of a place. |
| 6. Chiranavaru | .. | .. |
| 7. Huruliyavaru | .. | .. Gram. |
| 8. Masinavaru | .. | .. Name of a deity. |
| 9. Nandihalliyavaru | .. | .. Do |
| 10. Onakeyavaru | .. | .. A pestle. |

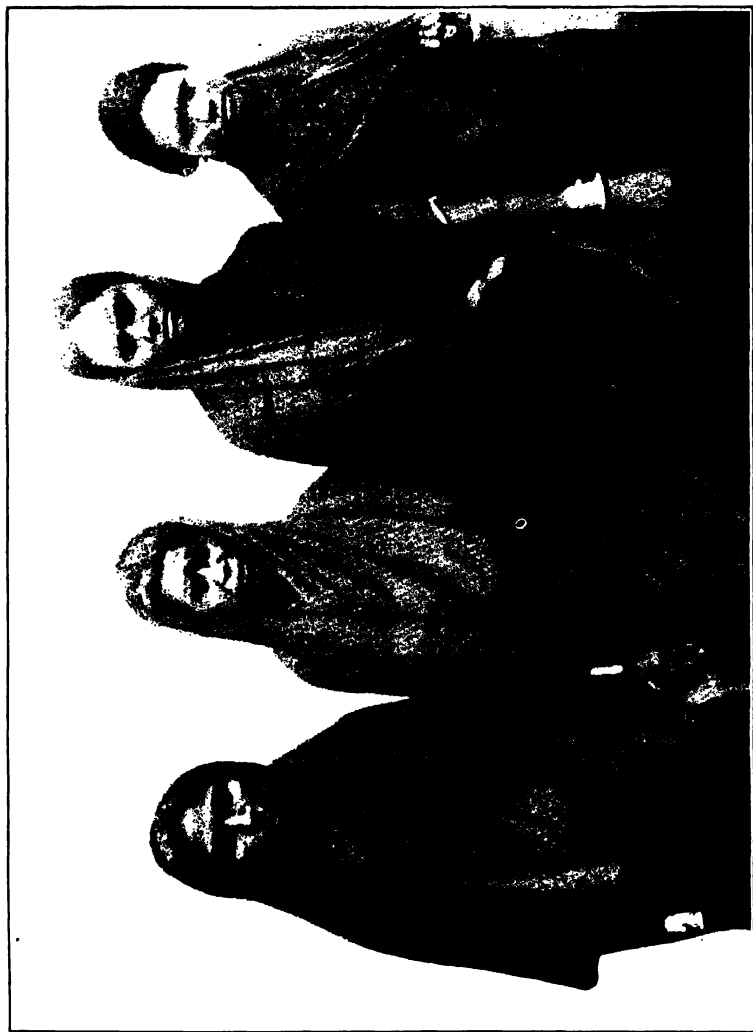
The names of their septs are derived from those of articles in common use, or from the names of patron deities. These family names are generally known only to the headman of each village, which often consists of families belonging to a single exogamous division.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS
AND CEREMONIES.

Marriage among them is generally adult, but infant marriage also may take place. A woman should not die unmarried. It is not imperative that the husband should be older than the wife. If an unmarried woman becomes pregnant by a man within the caste, she will be given to him in marriage. Both the woman's father and the man have to pay a fine, which is utilized for feeding the castemen. They have no traces of the practice of capturing wives from other tribes.

Polygamy is recognised, but polyandry is unknown. It is said that a woman may be married to one younger in years, but her husband's father or other relatives may not supply his place till he grows up.

A man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle, or of his elder sister, but may not marry either his mother's sister, or her daughter; thus



A GROUP OF FEMALE KADU GOLLAS.

all relations, as mother, sister, or daughter, are avoided in marriage. Exchange of daughters is permitted, but not encouraged, from the belief that one of them fails to prosper. From a similar belief, marriage of two sisters is also avoided. All are of the same social status, and they are not prohibited from inter-marriage based on differences in local position, occupation, or religious belief.

Boys are generally married when they are between twenty and twenty-five years of age. Marriages are arranged by parents or elders. On an auspicious day, the boy's father, accompanied by some married women, goes to the house of the intended bride, where a new decorated pot, filled with rice flour, is presented by the women to the mother of the bride. A portion of the *tera*-money is paid to the bride's father, who hands it over to the girl's maternal uncle. *Tambulas* are exchanged between the parties, and also distributed to the castemen assembled in honour of the occasion. Kādu-Gollas are very punctilious in observing signs and omens. They tie a thread dipped in turmeric to the end of a shrubby creeper, and if, on the next morning, any further growth is noticed in the plant, the match is considered lucky. Sometimes a lamp is lighted and kept burning during the night. If it happens to go out before morning, or if the chief parties have any unpleasant dream, it is a bad sign. Similarly, they observe what meets them on their return from the bride's house. If their path is crossed by married women, or by a Muhammedan, or by any one carrying betel-leaves, it is a good sign. It is unlucky to meet a serpent, a deer, a rabbit, or a Brāhman. The match is broken if the signs are unpropitious, and the *tera* will be returned. But those who break an otherwise valid agreement will be put out of caste.

The marriage takes place in the house of the bride-groom, and continues for five days. In some places marriage-booths are erected with twelve posts, and *ariveni*, or sacred pots, are worshipped therein. The ceremony of marriage being simple, it can take place on any convenient day. The bride and the bride-groom are seated on a plank in front of the village temple, and the *pūjari* sprinkles the milk of the sacred sheep (*Jennige Kuri*) on them, and ties a string of black beads, known as *mangalya*, round the bride's neck, and puts a chaplet of flowers on the bride-groom's head. The father of the bride-groom pays the balance of the *tera*. The bride then puts a brass * and silver bangle on her arms, and two rings on her feet, presented by her husband.

They never invite a Brāhman during the marriage, and the reason given is that on one occasion the Brāhman invited pronounced the hour fixed for the marriage to be inauspicious, and put them to the inconvenience of delaying the ceremony. Curiously they seem to attach more importance to the preliminary agreement for marriage than to the actual ceremony. For the latter, any day may be chosen, while for entering into the contract, they are scrupulous in selecting an auspicious time. The marriage ceremony is looked upon as impure, and has to take place only outside the hamlet, lest the huts there should be polluted. Those who attend the marriage may not enter their house without bathing in a tank. The married couple have to bathe and put on newly-washed clothes supplied by a washerman; and indeed a marriage has to be put off if no washerman is available to supply washed clothes. The amount paid as *tera* is Rs. 14 for the first marriage. A man who marries a second time has to pay Rs. 20,

* The brass bangle is known as Gollakadaga and is worn on the left wrist. It is a distinctive badge of the women of this caste.

and to give the bride one of the jewels that had been worn by his previous wife.

A girl attains her age at about the sixteenth year. In her first menses, she has to remain in pollution for a period of twenty-one days, in a hut of green leaves, erected far off from the living huts. Every day she has to bathe, change her clothes, and move to a new hut, the old one being burnt down. The period being long, and erecting sheds daily with fresh materials rather expensive, it is sometimes reduced to seven or ten days, or each hut is occupied for a longer period. Some female relatives keep her company at a distance in the night. She is given specially sweet and nourishing food. Her bed consists of margosa leaves, and straw thinly spread over them. At the end of the period, all the materials used by her are burnt, excepting the clothes and vessels, which are washed before being taken into the house. After returning from bath, she drinks a spoonful of the five products of the cow, known as *panchagavya*, dung, urine, butter, curds and milk, and chews a few margosa leaves. During the subsequent periods of monthly sickness, she remains outside for three days or five days. A man becomes impure if the shadow of such a woman falls on him, or if, without purification, he touches anything that comes in contact with her.

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

Three months after the first menstruation, a woman may take bed with her husband. On the occasion of her first going to her husband's house, her mother presents her with a new cloth, some rice, and turmeric roots.

Widows are not permitted to remarry. Indeed it is believed, that a woman, on losing her husband, becomes the bride of their tutelary deity, and so

WIDOW
MARRIAGE.

she keeps on her bangles and *tāli* just like other married women.

ADULTERY
AND DIVORCE.

Adultery is looked upon with abhorrence, though, when committed within the caste, it may be secretly condoned. A woman may be divorced for adultery if it is proved before their caste council, at which her parents should be present. Such women are not allowed to remarry, and are in fact put out of caste. The very sight of them is deemed inauspicious, and is avoided, by men and women of the caste.

POST
CEREMONIES.

Child-birth is looked upon by Kādu-Gollas with great fear, as of some impending evil, and is extremely detested, owing to the anxious days, which the woman in child-bed has to spend. When labour pains come on, the woman goes out, furlongs off the hamlet, to a part of the jungle where a shed of leaves and grass has been newly erected for the purpose. A woman of the Bedar caste attends upon her as midwife. The mother is considered impure for three months after accouchement, the impurity diminishing in degree day by day. If any person touches her during this interval, he will catch the contagion, and will have to remain outside for a similar period; and on the occurrence of such a contingency, the mother and her child are not allowed to enter the house until they obtain the special permission of their deity. The *yajamān* of the caste, being supposed to be the trusted servant of the deity, announces its decrees, learning them in his dreams, or interpreting them by signs observed during worship. If the *yajamān* is not entrusted with God's judgments, a Brāhman, or a Sūdra soothsayer, is consulted, when the mother and the child may be taken to the hamlet. On the fourth day, after having had a bath, the woman removes herself

to a new hut, towards the village. On the ninth, fifteenth and thirtieth days, she similarly moves to new huts ; and again, once in each of the two following months. At the close of the period of three months, the mother with the child bathes, and dressing herself in new washed clothes, goes to the village temples where the *pūjāri* touches their mouth, with drops of milk of the dedicated sheep (jennigekūri).* Then the mother washes her hands seven times with cow's urine, contained in a pit newly scooped out for the purpose.

They observe no ceremonies for the giving of names to children. The *yajmān* of the caste, in communication with the patron deity, directs that the child be named after the name of the grandmother, or by any other name. Personal names, general among them, are :—

PERSONAL
NAMES.

Yarra	.. Red.	Kenda	.. Red.
Kariya	.. Dark.	Katayya	.. Forest.
Karadi	.. Bear.	Huliya	.. Tiger.
Manga	.. Monkey.	Giriya	.. Mountain.
Mincha	.. Lightning.	Junjappa	.. Name of a deity.
Kenjadiya	.. One having red locks of hair.	Chittayya	.. Name of an exogamous division.

They give opprobrious names if the first-born are dead. The practice of giving one name for every-day purpose, and another for purposes of ceremonies, does not exist among them.

In each hatti or hamlet, they have a *yajamān* who wields extensive powers. He settles all their secular

TRIAL
CONSTITUTION.

* Jennigekuri is marked out by three longitudinal cuts in its ears. It is supposed to be sacred, and when any person touches it, he will have to wash his hands with cow's urine in front of the village temple dedicated to Junjappa, their deity. If a person wantonly touches it, he loses his eyes, and if, after swearing on it to tell the truth, he utters falsehood, his family is ruined. All hamlets do not possess such a sheep, and when required they borrow it from others. On the death of this sheep, one of its female lambs is installed in its place.

disputes, and they rarely resort to courts. He is the *pūjāri*, and conducts worship in their temples on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and the oracles of the deity are manifested through him. He cures snake-bites and cattle diseases by medicines and charms; and whenever there is an epidemic or other serious calamity, he exhibits his practical good sense by ordering the removal of the settlement *en bloc* to a new site. In his caste functions, he is assisted by a Kolkār of his own caste, and a *Halemaga* of the Beda caste. Their tribal councils are held in places known as *kattemane*,* where questions affecting the whole tribe, such as breaches of caste rules, are enquired into and settled. Such councils consist of *yajamāns* of various *hattis* and the friends of the culprits. Sometimes the council exercises appellate jurisdiction over the decision of smaller councils. Parties testifying before their tribal council swear by Junjappa, or by the Sacred Sheep; and they believe that if they perjure themselves after the last invocation, they will be afflicted with blindness. Persons accused of adultery were sometimes subjected to ordeal by fire, being required to hold a red hot bar of iron in the hand, their innocence being established if they were not scalded. But with increasing infidelity, this has become obsolete. If a person eats forbidden food, he will be required to pay a fine of 24 *hanas*, and will have to purify himself by shaving his face clean, and having his tongue slightly branded. If a woman does this act, she will be put out of caste. For a general assault, a fine of thirteen annas is imposed.

RELIGION.

They worship Vishṇu under the names of Krishna,

* Kattemanes are held at Kari-Obenhalli in Hiriyar Taluk, Ramen-halli in Chitaldrug Taluk, Kalyandrug and Hagalwadi in Gubbi Taluk, and Magadi.

Venkataramana, Rama, Ranga and Vishṇu. Their tribal deities are Junjappa, who is much respected, and Chikkannaswāmi, Kyatedēvaru, Chitradēvaru and Butappa.

Junjappa, their chief deity, is a glorified cowherd, and is regarded by them as a later incarnation of Sri Krishna. Just like the hero of the *Bhāgavata*, he had also to fight against the jealousy and the wicked machinations of his maternal uncles. He is said to have been born by breaking through the back of his mother, a method which is popularly believed to be still seen in scorpions. Once his uncles planned to infect his cattle, by burying a live bull-calf infected with rinderpest in a tank, to which Junjappa's cattle were going to drink. The cattle approached the tank, sniffing the air, and would not drink. He suspected some foul play, and calling out his favourite bright-eyed cow, which answered to the name of Chikka-Rambha, directed her to find out what was the matter with the water. She dived under the water, and succeeded in lifting on her horns the calf still alive from the mire. It was tended with care, and cured of its disease, and it repaid its new benefactor with docile submission and unswerving faithfulness. It was named Bettanna, and became strong and spirited when it grew up. It once killed seven bulls out of a herd owned by the uncles, and came back bringing seven of the best cows. When, in revenge, the uncles harried the flocks of Junjappa's brothers, and carried away this Bettanna, and bound it with chains to a boulder, Junjappa had only to mount to a hill top and call his favourite by name, when, with a shake of its body, it snapped the chains as if they were made of straw, and ran to his side.

Once he met an amazon, by name Janakal Doddi, watching her field and amusing herself on a seesaw.

He asked her to allow him to collect some beans for his food in her field. She treated him with scorn, saying, "neither Jangama nor Dāsari has yet succeeded in getting a handful from me; would I give a cowherd beggar like you a grain of it?" His anger was so great that the field blazed into a flame all round him when he opened his eyes wide. But she was more than a match for him; and even serpents, whose aid he sought to destroy her, were afraid, till a poor lonely serpent was coaxed to give its assistance by promises of being worshipped in stone after her death. This found its way into her clothes and bit and killed her. Her husband was powerless against Junjappa, and at last his enemies tried to kill him by poison, which they treacherously administered at a feast to which he was invited by a stratagem. He discovered it by giving it first to a dog to eat, but ate the food notwithstanding, lest his enemies should accuse him of cowardice. Immediately flames of fire darted out of his body, and in a few minutes he was reduced to ashes, along with a huge hay-stack by his side. When his soul was transported to the presence of Siva, the God asked him to show what he could do to deserve a boon. He dived into the bowels of the earth, and brought all the snakes and scorpions in huge masses out of their hiding places. Siva offered boons which the unrepentant man only utilised for taking his revenge upon his uncles, whom he assailed with famine and pestilence, and his place he reduced to a desert. It is still to be seen near Hāgalvādi, and is known by the name of the ruins of the Kambi family.

In his name a *Jātre*, or tribal festival, is held in Hāgalvādi, once in two or three years, or if they can afford the expense, annually, at which all their castemen gather, including some of the higher castes, who only show reverence by presenting

cocoa-nuts to the deity. Sheep and goats are not killed at this feast, though its devotees may prepare flesh food for themselves. Junjappa is now represented by a box of split bamboo, containing his relics, *viz.*, a weapon he was using, an umbrella and clothes, and some silver or golden serpents, snakes, crabs and other vermin.

The festival is held outside the village-site, in a jungle known as Junjappa's waste, under a pandal temporarily built there with cocoa-nut, areca-nut, or plantain leaves. In one portion of the area under the pandal the box representing Junjappa is installed, and round it other boxes, made of similar materials, are arranged in the form of a square. The *pūjāri* conducts the *pūja* with turmeric powder and flowers, breaks cocoa-nuts in front of the deity, and burns camphor and incense. The *Jātra* continues for three days, and there are many diversions provided for the assembly. Boys and elders play *kolātam* with short sticks. After the *Jātra*, the pandal is burnt to ashes. They take advantage of these gatherings to hold their caste councils for the settlement of disputes and the imposition of penalties against breaches of caste rules and customs.

There is a temple near Bangalore, at which Junjappa is worshipped under the name Chikkanna-swāmi. It is constructed of leaves or straw. The temple has a property worth about fifteen thousand rupees, consisting of gold or silver snakes, scorpions, and jewels presented by devotees. A sacred bull, known as Pattadabasava, is dedicated to the temple, and is privileged to graze in a field, undisturbed by any man of the Golla caste. During the *Jātra*, the bull is decorated with some jewels belonging to the temple. The box representing the deity is carried by the bull to the tank, or any water course, where it is washed and purified by a Brāhman.

It is said that even some Brāhmans have become devotees of this deity, having been cured of the possession of devil in the shrine. Such families do not allow women in monthly sickness to enter their house, and if accidentally they do so, a penalty is paid to this shrine. Unless they do this, they believe they will be afflicted with boils, or be bitten by snakes, or stung by scorpions. In some parts of the Chitaldrug District, Kyatedēvaru is worshipped, and an annual *Jātra* on a small scale is held in its honour. The deity is installed in a car made entirely with thorns and mounted on four wheels, and is drawn in procession round the temple, and at the close of one circuit, the flag at the top is brought down. In the month of Chaitra (April-May), a *Jātra* in honour of Butappa is held, at which only the members of the Golla caste attend, to show their reverence. This deity has no special temple, and his figure, engraved on a stone, is set up underneath a shady tree. The worship is conducted by a *pūjāri* (priest) of their caste. Ten or twelve sheep and goats are killed, and are afterwards used for the feeding of the caste men.

DEATH AND
FUNERAL
CEREMONIES.

As houses, in which persons die, become unfit for habitation from pollution, the signs of death of a person are watched, and he is taken out to breathe his last. The dead body is washed after the head is anointed, and it is seated and wrapped in a new unbleached cloth. A copper or silver coin is placed in the mouth, and the corpse is laid on a bamboo bier, and carried to the burial ground. The principal mourner goes round the corpse three times carrying a vessel filled with water, and throws it down in front of the corpse. Then the corpse is buried, with the head turned 'towards the south. Persons who die of accidents, and lepers are cremated. On the third day, the ashes and the unburnt portions

of the body are thrown into the jungle or into water. Those who touch or carry the corpse remain impure for three days. On returning from the burial ground, they wash their shoulders with cow's urine, bathe, and live outside the hamlet. Even the closest relative, if he has no contact with the dead body, need not observe *sūtaka* (pollution). After three days, they bathe in a tank, and drink the milk of the sacred sheep given by the *pūjāri* before re-entering their dwelling. On the first day, they offer to the spirit of the dead in front of the house, a quantity of rice, mixed with curds. If crows do not eat these offerings, they are given to cows. On the fourth day, a sum of six *hanas* is paid to the temple *pūjāri*, who, once in ten or twelve years, uses all the money so collected for feeding the caste-men in order to propitiate the deceased ancestors. In the name of the deceased, a memorial stone, about a cubit in height, is set up at a spot close to the hamlet. During the Mahālaya, the relatives of the deceased place over a plantain leaf a *yede* of rice, ghee, and jaggery, and a new cloth is also placed there. For three days after a death in the family, the latter avoid milk, sugar and ghee. If a pregnant woman dies in a house when her husband is away from home, the corpse is cremated, and the house is pulled down, and re-erected in another place. The husband should not enter the village for three months.

If a woman dies within the period of birth-impurity, the man who carries the body for burial remains impure for three months, and before re-entering the village, he has to drink the milk of Jennige kuri (sacred sheep), and to wash himself with cow's urine.

The original occupation of the Kādu Gollas seems to have been confined to sheep and cattle breeding, OCCUPATION.

and it continues to be their chief occupation even now. They are backward in agriculture, and grow only such crops as are needed for their own use and can be easily raised. They do not shear sheep like the Kurubas. A Golla without cattle would be a misnomer, and this association is so well recognised that he is chosen by all Okkaligas by preference to officiate as the *pūjāri* of the cattle goddess, Katanīma, at the Sankrānthi festival. The following account of cattle-breeding by the Kādu Gollas may be found to be interesting.

“The race of oxen in this country (Mysore) may be readily distinguished from the European species, by the same marks that distinguish all the cattle of India; namely, by a lump on the back between the shoulders by a deep undulated dewlap, and by the remarkable declivity of the *os sacrum*. But the cattle of the south are easily distinguished from those of Bengal by the position of the horns. In those of Bengal, the horns project forward, and form a considerable angle with the forehead; whereas in those of the south, the horns are placed nearly in the same line with the *os frontis*. In this breed also, the produce is remarkably large; and vestiges of this organ are often visible in females; but this is not a constant mark.

“Of this southern species, there are several breeds of very different qualities. Above the Ghats, however, two breeds are most prevalent. The one is a small, gentle, brown, or black animal: the females are kept in the villages for giving milk, and the oxen are those chiefly employed in the plough; their short, thick make enabling them to labour easily in the small rice-plots which are often but a few yards in length. This breed seems to owe its degeneracy to a want of proper bulls. As each person in the village keeps only two or three cows for supplying his own family with milk, it is not an object with any one to keep a proper bull; and as the males are not emasculated until three years old, and are not kept separate from the cows, these are impregnated without any attention to improvement, or even to prevent degeneracy. Wealthy farmers, however, who are anxious to improve their stock, send some cows to be kept in the folds of the large kind, and to breed from good bulls. The cows sprung from these always remain at the fold, and in the third generation lose all marks of their parent's degeneracy. The males are bought home for labour, especially in drawing

water by the *Capily* ; and about every village may be perceived all kinds of intermediate mongrels between the two breeds.

" In the morning the village cows are milked, and are then collected in a body, on the outside of the wall, with all the buffaloes and oxen that are not employed in labour. About eight or nine in the morning, the village herdsman, attended by some boys or girls, drives them to the pasture. If the flock exceeds 120, two herdsmen must be kept, and their herds go in different directions. The pastures are such waste lands as are not more than two miles distant from the village, and are, in general, poor ; the tufts of grass are but thinly scattered, and the bare soil occupies the greater space. This grass, however, seems to be of a very nourishing quality, and the most common species is the *Andropogan Martini* of Dr. Roxburgh's manuscripts. At noon, and at four o'clock, they are driven to water, to raise which the *Capily* is often employed. At sun-set they are brought home ; and in the rainy season the cow-house is smoked, to keep away the flies. In the back-yard of every house stands a large earthen pot, in which the water used for boiling the grain consumed by the family is collected ; and to this are added the remains of curdled milk, of puddings, and a little flour, oil-cake, or cotton seed. This water becomes very sour, and is given as a drink to the cows in the evening, when they are again milked. At night, in the rainy season, the cattle get cut grass, which is collected in the woods, and about road sides ; this last is the most nutritious, the very succulent roots being cut up with the leaves, and the situation preventing the harsh stems from growing. In dry weather, the cattle at night have straw. Those who can afford it, chiefly Brāhmans, give their milch cows cotton seeds and *avaray*. The working cattle ought to have horse-gram. After the milk for the family has been taken, the calves are allowed to suck ; and unless they be present, as is usual, with all the Indian race of cattle, the cows will give no milk. The cows here go nine months with calf, begin to breed at three years of age, and continue until 15 years old. They breed once a year, but give milk for six months only. A good cow of the village kind gives twice a day from four to six Cucha Seers, or from about 2½ to 3½ pints ale measure.

" The cattle of the other breed are very fierce to strangers, and nobody can approach the herd with safety, unless he be surrounded by Gollas, to whom they are very tractable ; and the whole herd follows, like dogs, the man who conducts it to pasture. The bulls and cows of this breed never enter a house ;

but at night are shut up in folds, which are strongly fortified with thorny bushes, to defend the cattle from tigers. At five years old the oxen are sold, and continue to labour for twelve years. Being very long in the body, and capable of travelling far on little nourishment, the merchants purchase all the best for carriage. To break in one of them requires three months' labour, and many of them continue always very unruly. The bulls and cows were so restless, that, even with the assistance of the Gollas, I could not get them measured; but the dimensions of a middle sized ox were as follow: From the nose to the root of the horn, 21 inches. From the root of the horn to the highest part of the hump, 30 inches. From the height of the hump to the ground, 46 inches. From the top of the hip bones to the ground, 51 inches.

"The cows of this breed are pure white; but the bulls have generally admixture of black on the neck and hind quarters. These cattle are more subject to the disease than the cattle living in villages; and once in three years an epidemic generally prevails among them. It is reckoned severe when one-third of a man's stock perishes, although sometimes the whole is lost; but in general, as all the cows are reserved for breeding, the loss occasioned by one epidemic is made up before another comes.

"These cattle are entirely managed by Gollas; and some of these people have a considerable property of this kind; but the greater part of these breeding flocks belong to the rich inhabitants of towns or villages, who hire the Gollas to take care of them; and, for the advantage of better bulls, send to the fold all their spare cows of the village breed. In procuring bulls of a good kind, some expense is incurred; for the price given for them is from 10 to 20 pagodas, while from 8 to 15 pagodas, is the price of an ox of this kind. Care is taken to emasculate all the young males that are not intended for breeding before they can injure the flock.

"As a rule, the Kādu Gollas live in localities where lands are abundant for pasturage and cultivation. But as local failures of rain frequently occasion a want of forage near the huts, some of them drive their flocks to other Gollas, giving them the dung of their fold for the trouble which they occasion or live in the midst of woods, in places where the small reservoirs, called *cuttays*, have been formed to supply the cattle with water. All the breeding and young cattle, with all the sheep and goats are carried on these expeditions, leaving a few labouring cattle and the buffaloes in charge of the women at home, and men who can be spared from accompanying the flocks. At this time

they never sleep in a hut, but are wrapped up in their blankets and accompanied by their dogs they lie down among the cattle within the folds where all night they burn fires to keep away the tigers. Sometimes these ferocious animals break through the fence and kill or wound the cattle. They have no guns to keep these animals away, but merely trust to the noise which they and their dogs make. They are also distressed by robbers who kill or carry away the sheep and goats. It was the rabble of the polygars who come for robbery, and no thieves can annoy their cattle which are too unruly to be driven by any person but their keepers. Even the most hardened villain would not dare to slaughter an animal of this sacred species. The cows and sheep eat grass, and the goats, the leaves of every kind of tree, bush or climber. Each kind of cattle must have a separate fold, from which they are driven at sun-rise. The calves get all the milk except a little used by the herdsmen. But the cows are milked every morning, and this is done by the men who are engaged for two hours. The cattle are once a day conducted to the water, and the calves after they are a month old, follow their masters to pasture. A flock of hundred small cattle requires the attendance of two men and two dogs, and these have more profit from their own small herd than those who serve the rich to take care of cows. A Golla that is reckoned rich will have 100 cows, 30 female buffaloes and 100 she-goats; and will keep as many labouring oxen as will work three ploughs. He will save about 100 pagodas after paying rent, providing for his family, and clothing which is a mere blanket. A portion of the money, he spends for the marriages of the younger members of the family and in religious ceremonies. The remainder, if any, is buried, and this is sometimes lost in forgetfulness as he gets old." *

The Gollas are a very dirty people; they wear no clothing except a blanket and invariably sleep among the cattle; which, joined to a warm climate and rare ablutions, with vermin, itch, ring-worms and other cutaneous disorders, render them very offensive.

They avoid smoking and drinking. It is even stated that they may not eat food given by Brāhmins,

SOCIAL
STATUS.

* F. Buchanan :—*Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. I, pages 299-302.

on account of the latter being less strict in avoiding contact with women during menses. Upparas seem to be the lowest caste with whom they associate in eating.

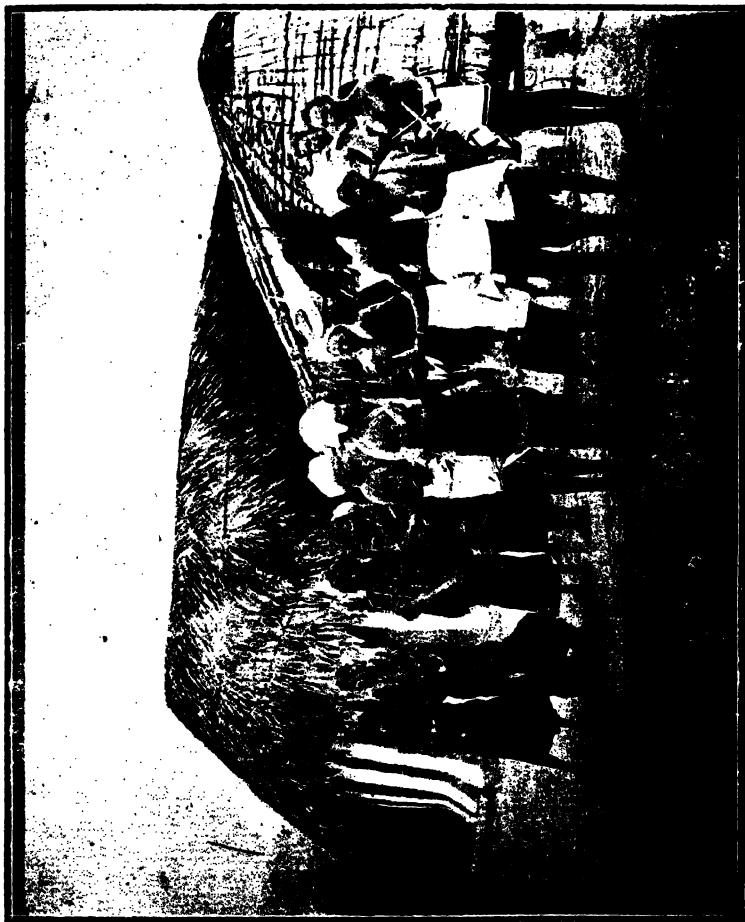
Brāhmins do not of course touch them while in *Madi*, but they use the butter-milk given by Gollas. Gollas may also enter all but the innermost parts of temples. The village barbers and washermen serve them freely; and Holeyas and Mādigas stand at a distance, and may not enter their houses. They consider the common well contaminated by promiscuous use, and generally have one of their own. They seem to stand in the relation of patrons to Bedas, who are said to be their Halēmakkalu. In parts of Chitaldrug, there is a curious custom which prevents the wife of the eldest son in a family from washing herself after answering calls of nature, as it is believed that their flocks would suffer if she took this sanitary precaution.

DIETARY
OF THE
CASTE.

Their staple food is ragi, and they are allowed to eat flesh. Fish, fowl, hares, sheep and rabbits may be eaten. It is, however, considered pious to avoid all animal food, and when they do partake of it, they never cook it in their houses, but resort to a tank, or water-course, outside, and carefully cleanse and purify all the utensils used in the process.

APPEARANCE,
DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS.

The Kādu Gollas are either dark or dark-brown in colour and are of average heights. The dress of males consists of a waist-cloth, a turban, and an upper cloth, which may be either a blanket or of thick cotton stuff. Their women generally wear a white cloth, bordered with red fringe either of lines or flowers, or a coloured *šare*. They do not use *ravike*, and ascribe the omission to Krishna's act of tearing off this part of their dress in his sports



GOLLAS' VILLAGE DANCE

with Gōpi maidens. The cloths used in marriage by the bride and bride-groom must be made by weavers of the Hōleya caste, but they have no such swadesi scruples with respect to articles of ordinary wear.

The male members wear gold ear-rings, shaped as a cobra, and use silver wrist-bands. Women before marriage put on silver wristlets, but after they are married, they substitute a *gollakadaga* on the left wrist. They dress their hair into a knot, and adorn it with a silver crest or flowers. They do not wear *kunkuma*, but widows sometimes put on *vibhuti*. They still resort to flint stone for making fire. They have flutes of bamboo, generally about two feet in length, and are expert in playing on them.

After the harvest season, they organise parties GAMES. from a number of villages, and hunt hares and rabbits. They carry the game suspended on sticks, and come back with music in great glee. Boys and girls play with short sticks *kōlata*. Elderly people especially in *jātre* (tribal festivities), take part in *kōlata* game with vocal accompaniment. The flute is their characteristic musical instrument, and every Golla plays upon it, especially while tending cattle.

The Kadu Gollas are said to have originally im- CONCLUSION. migrated from Northern India, and are even now, to a certain extent, a nomadic tribe living in thatched huts outside the villages. Some of their social customs are similar to those of the Kādu Kurubas. A girl during the first menses is lodged in a separate shed constructed for the time being, and is under seclusion for seven or eight days. On occurrence of a child-birth, the mother with the baby remains under seclusion in a small shed outside the village, from seven to thirty days, after which she is taken back to her family. In the event of her illness, a Beda

woman is engaged to attend on her. Marriages among them are performed in a temporary shed erected outside the village, and the festivities continue for five days after which the married couple are brought into the village. The Gollas are polygamous and puberty is no bar to marriage. The wife cannot be divorced except for adultery. Their women do not wear the bodice as her sisters in other castes, nor do they remove or break the bangles at the death of their husbands. Widows are not allowed to remarry.

GONDHALI.

INTRODUCTION—ENDOGENOUS GROUPS—EXOGENOUS CLANS—
MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—RELIGION—INITIATION—OCCUPATION—
FUNERAL CUSTOMS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—CONCLUSION.

THE Gondhalis are of Mahratta extraction, and are mostly emigrants from the Bombay Presidency. They are largely found in the districts of Kolaba, Satara and Khandesh as also in the State of Kolhapur. They are a class of religious beggars or minstrels recruited from various castes, and are as children, offered to gods in fulfilment of vows. They are also found as beggars in small numbers in all parts of Mysore.

Regarding the origin of the caste, it is said, that Sage Jamadagni and his wife Rēnuka were the founders, and that they came into the Deccan two or three centuries ago, from Māhur and Tuljapūr in the Nizam's territory which were their original abode. They call themselves the sons or devotees of the Goddess Bhavāni, and wear round their neck a garland of yellow shells known as the Bhavāni cowris. Being the devotees of the Goddess, they enjoy a great influence and popularity among the low class Hindus. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the worship of Amba Bhavāni had spread far and wide in the Deccan. Every Mahratta house re-echoed her praises, and the Gondhalis who were highly esteemed became very popular with their songs. The Hindus had suffered much from the oppression of the Mussalmans, and were looking for something divine to relieve them from

INTRODUCTION.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE
CASTE.

the foreign oppressors. The Goddess Amba Bhavāni was appealed to for help, and she readily responded to the prayers of her devotees. She appeared to many in dreams, helped others in difficulties and showed hidden treasures to a favoured few. She also appeared in the body of some of her Gondhali devotees in their Gondhāl dances, and enabled them to predict past and future events, and thus performed miracles. Some of the great Mahratta poets like Vāman Pandit, and Sridhar, who flourished about this time, composed songs, most or all of which were full of pious and devotional sentiments, which appealed only to a small number. Gondhali songs were of a different kind and attracted a large number, because they were easily understood and admired by a large majority. The simple songs of the Gondhalis did not fail to make a permanent impression on the mind of the audience. They tickled the fancy, gratified the pride, and roused the patriotism of the illiterate mutineers of the Western Ghats.*

**ENDOGRAMOUS
GROUPS.**

The Gondhalis are divided into eight endogamous divisions, namely, Brāhman, Dhāngar, Mahratta, Kumbhar, Kadamrai, Renukrai, Mali, Akarmāse. They neither eat together nor intermarry. All these divisions except the last performed the dance described below. The Brāhman Gondhalis perform the dance with a *bhaden* or the lower half of an earthen pot filled with combustibles set on fire corresponding to the deity of the other Gondhalis. The Kadamrai and Renukrai maintain that they are the only real Gondhalis, the other branches being mere musicians belonging to other castes. Kadamrais are socially the superiors of Renukrai.†

* *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II, page 14.

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Do

do

15.

The exogamous septs of the caste are the same as their surnames. The persons bearing the same surnames cannot intermarry. Sameness of Dēvak is also a bar to intermarriage. There can be no intermarriage between persons with whom a former connection cannot be traced.

EXOGRAMOUS
CLANS.

It is said that the exogamous clans of the Gondhalis are the same as those of the Mahratta Kunbis from whom they appear to be separated by reason of their having adopted the occupation of begging. Some of their exogamous clans are :—

Gaikawad.	Jatal.	Kapse.	Hatkar.
Male.	Sonkar.	Bamane.	Shirke.
Pawar.	Todkar.	Sonwane	Khanhal

Girls are married before they come of age and boys from twenty to twenty-five years. If a man is well-to-do, and loses his children, he marries his infant sons, while in the cradle to a girl of the same age. Polygamy and widow marriage are allowed, but polyandry is unknown. The divorced woman is not allowed to marry again during the life time of her husband. Divorce is allowed. The castemen follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS.

Gondhalis belong to the Hindu religion, and worship all Hindu gods and goddesses, but their chief goddesses of worship are Amba Bhavāni of Tuljāpur, Ambabāi of Kolhapur, Yellamma of Belgaum, Rēnuka of Mahurgad in the Nizam's territory, Jokhai of Kolhapur and Asrās or the river or water nymphs. They make pilgrimages to the shrines of their deities, as their votaries, beg, and perform the Gondhal dance in their name. They observe all the Hindu fasts and feasts as also the Moharrum. The nine days of Navarāthri which end in Vijayadasami form their grand festival. On Tuesdays and Fridays they eat only once, because these days are held sacred to

RELIGION.

the worship of their goddesses. They have no priest of their own. Their priests are the local Brāhmins.

INITIATION.

The ceremony of investing the boys with the garland of cowry shells is peculiar to their caste. This ceremony is performed when boys are ten or twelve years of age. On a lucky day, relations and castemen are invited to dine. When they come, the Gondhali head-man or some other elderly member of the caste, spreads rice on a wooden stool, places a pot filled with water, tells the boy's father to put a rupee and a quarter and other silvery coins and closes the mouth with mango leaves and a cocoanut. The boy is asked to worship the pot with flowers, sandal paste, and incense. The Gondhali then ties a garland of yellow shells round the boy's neck, and repeats in his ear the name of Goddess Bhavāni along with some other mystic words. The guests are then treated to a feast, and the ceremony then comes to an end.

OCCUPATION.

The Gondhalis make their living chiefly by the performance of the Gondhali dance and begging in the name of the goddess. They also sing songs which are religious, historical and amorous. Among the Shimpis, Mahrattas, Sonārs and few other castes of the Deccan, it is customary to perform a Gondhal dance on the occasion of an Upanayanam ceremony. The following is an account of the dance.

A few days before the ceremony, the Gondhalis are invited to dine and are sumptuously fed. In the evening friends and relations are invited to attend the dance. In the centre of the hall, on a low wooden stool, the head of the Gondhalis spreads a bodice cloth, and on it a handful of rice. On the rice is placed a pot filled with water, and on the mouth of the pot are placed some mango leaves. On the

pot is placed a tray filled with rice, and on it is installed an image of the Goddess Bhavāni. The owner of the house then worships the goddess with sandal paste, vermillion, turmeric and flowers and also burns frankincense before it. The head of the Gondhalis now stands before the goddess, and on his right hand stands one of his comrades holding a lighted torch in his hand. Other companions stand behind him, one of them playing on a double drum, called *sambal*, another on a stringed instrument called *tuntune*, and the third striking two metal cups one against the other. The head Gondhali now worships the *dēvi* or lighted torch with sandal-paste, turmeric and flowers and bows to it, and says, "O! Goddess Bhavāni of Tuljāpur come to witness the Gondhal dance." Thus he repeats the names of several gods and goddesses, and invites them to witness the performance. He then sings a song on the deeds of Bhavāni, Malhāri, Rāma and some other heroes, when his comrades play on their musical instruments. After a few minutes, he stops and explains to the audience the meaning of that song. He again repeats another song, walks to and fro, and stops to explain the meaning. Thus he continues the story till day-break. After the narrative is over, the Gondhali if desired by the audience, sings other pieces describing the exploits of Shivāji or some other Mahratta hero. Occasionally, one of the Gondhalis becomes possessed and pretends to foretell future events. At day-break a lighted lamp or camphor is waved round the goddess, the *dēvi*, or the lighted torch is extinguished in milk or clarified butter, and the ceremony comes to an end.*

This type of dance is the outcome of strong religious devotion, and the excitement caused by this becomes

* *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II, pages 16-17.

so contagious, that others take part in it. It results from auto-intoxication and ecstasy, and its purpose is to effect union with a supernatural spirit. The body is for the time being, emptied of its consciousness for the entrance of the spirit or god in whose honour the dance takes place. Among the uncultured people, the belief in external soul is common, and there can be no doubt about the conviction of the departure of soul from the body to make room for the higher spirit or god. While thus residing in the body, the god utilizes it for his own purpose. The chief motive of this dance is the union with the deity. This type of dance existed among the old Israelites, the Greeks and the Romans. It is still current among the people of lower culture all over the world, especially among the cultured and uncultured Dravidians in India.

It is a common belief that among these people every kind of sickness is attributed to the attacks of some demon to whom some sacrifice has been overdue. The remedy for recovery lies in the power of a magician or sorcerer who is invariably sent for to devise the means of recovery. He may be a member either of his own or of some other community. Bathing and dressing himself in his fantastic costume, with sword in hand and with small belts girt round his ankles, he enters on the scene before the deity in pious contemplation. Slowly advancing to and fro, and rolling his eyes, he works himself to a kind of convulsive shiver, making a few frantic cuts on his forehead. He is in a state of inspiration, by which he utters a few disjointed sentences which are believed to be the words of the deity—suggesting the means of remedy or relief from the impending calamities. The votaries reverentially bow before him, promising to do whatever he commands. In times of epidemics such as cholera, small-pox,

influenza, ceremonies are performed with animal sacrifices when the ecstatic dance takes place. There are also funeral dances to propitiate the spirit of the dead, the object of which is to invoke the blessings of the spirits.

Some Gondhalis have taken to agriculture.

The dead are either buried or burnt, and the funeral customs are similar to those of the corresponding Mahratta castes. FUNERAL
CUSTOMS.

In food, they resemble the Mahratta Kunbis. In social scale, they stand lower than the Mahrattas, who will not eat with them or take food cooked by them. DIETARY OF
THE CASTE.

The Gondhalis are of Mahratta origin like the Budubudukkis. They are in small numbers scattered over the whole province. They are the worshippers of Durga. Their service is requisitioned to perform Gondhala, a kind of torchlight dance usually performed in honour of Amba Bhavāni, especially after marriages in the houses of Dēsthā Brāhmans or at other times in fulfilment of any vow. CONCLUSION.

GÖNIGA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS
AND CEREMONIES—CASTE COUNCIL—RELIGION—FUNERAL
CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—
APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUC- TION.

GÖNIGĀS are a caste of gunny-bag (sack) weavers from jute fibre (*chamau*). They are chiefly found in the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore. At the Census (1911) they numbered 998 as against 1,205 in the previous Census. The fall in number was mainly owing to the confusion of their name with that of the Gānigas (oil-pressers) living in a street of their own in the Bangalore City, called Gānigarpet. The Gōnigās were originally Telugu-speaking people, but now they speak Canarese.

ORIGIN OF THE CASTE.

A Telugu book printed 27 years ago gives the following tradition regarding the origin of the Gōnigās. A demon, Andhaka, was oppressing the people of the world. Even the gods could not check him. An appeal was finally made to the creator (Brahma) who made a great penance, and from his sacrificial fire, there sprang forth Prithvīswara. This god married Kāmākshi, the Goddess at Conjivaram. They had two sons from whom descended eighty one sons. This shows that Gōnigās were originally immigrants from Conjivaram, and were the devotees of the Goddess there. They seem to have immigrated to Mysore. They are largely found in the Tumkur district.

Among them there are two divisions, Jānappam and Sādhuvamsastha. They are only different names of the same community. They have the names of Rishis, many of which are not to be found in the *purānās* and *itihāsās*. Very probably they must have been the names of the ancestors of the twenty-four families, namely, Vancha, Purandala, Lakka, Mankhavalā, which are some of their gōtras. They now form two divisions with eight on one side and sixteen on the other, and thus appear to have branched off into two main groups. Thus they form two exogamous divisions, for purposes of marriage. Exchange of daughters between two families of the same group for the purpose of marriage is avoided.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

Girls are married both before and after puberty. On the first day of marriage, the bride's party gives seven rupees, and the bride-groom's party ten rupees to the caste-council who give permission to the celebration of the marriage. The bride-groom's party worship the deity in the local temple, and return to the house of the bride where they are welcomed. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom ties the *tālī* round the neck of the bride in the presence of the castemen and women assembled, when marriage songs are sung with accompaniment of instrumental music. The ceremony comes to a close, and presents of clothes are made to the bridal pair by friends and relations. The guests are treated to a grand feast. On the second day, there are few merriments, and on the third day the *kankanās* are removed. Among them the bridegroom pays no bride-price, but has to bring the *tālī*. It is said that the marriage expenses may amount to Rs. 300 and the bride-groom's party have to bear the major portion of it. As post-puberty marriage is the rule, there is no special

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.

ceremony for consummation. Widows are never allowed to re-marry. If a woman is found to go wrong, and if it is proved before the caste-assembly, she is put out of caste when she has no claim for maintenance; for adultery is regarded by the castemen with abhorrence. They follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance.

CASTE COUNCIL.

The head man of the Gōnigās, called Madapuri resides in the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore. Next to him is the *Pinna pedda* or the junior headman, who resides in the city. These two decide all social questions. Outsiders are not admitted to the caste. Castemen who have been put out of caste for some social offence are admitted into the caste on payment of some fine.

RELIGION.

The Gōnigās are Saivas and worship Prithvīswara; but subsequently they seem to have been influenced by the Vaishṇava followers of Rāmanuja. Some are now Vaishṇavās. They use the Vaishṇava names with the surnames of Setty to them such as Srinivāsa Setty, Venkidappa Setty, Pāppanna Setty, Abboi Setty. Women are named after Kāmākshi. They go on pilgrimage to Benāres, Rāméswarem, Srīngēri, Srīrangam and Conjivaram. They believe in sorcery, magic and witchcraft. They worship the *Aswatha* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) with a stone image of a snake underneath it. In all domestic rites, a Brāhmin priest is invited, and he does not lose his caste social status on that account.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Both cremation and burial are in vogue among them. In case of burial, the head is directed towards the south. In the event of burning, the bones and ashes are deposited in a tank or a river close by. They observe pollution for sixteen days and only

nine days for child under three years. Relations have it for three days. During the mourning period, all luxuries, such as scents, flowers and *pānsupari* are avoided. They perform the monthly *srādha* during the first year and the anniversary at the end of the year.

The Gōnigas are mostly traders and agriculturists and some of them are grain porters. Some have their own lands. A few are Government servants.

OCCUPATION.

They profess to be vegetarians ; and flesh-eating and liquor drinking are prohibited on pain of excommunication.

DIETARY
OF THE
CASTE.

The men are seen in all shades of complexion. The dress of the males does not differ from that of the other castemen ; but the women merely wind round the cloth several times without tucking one end like others. Their ornaments are the same as those worn by their sisters in other castes.

APPEARANCE
DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS.

The Gōnigas are goni-weavers and makers of gunny bags. The two known endogamous groups among them are the Janapas and Sādhuvamśas-thās. Some of them are agriculturists while many of the grain porters in Bangalore City belong to this caste. The girls are generally married after puberty. Widow marriage is prohibited.

CONCLUSION.

GÖSĀYI.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY—INITIATION.

ORIGIN AND
HISTORY
OF THE
COMMUNITY.

A CLASS of mendicants from Northern India. The term "Gösāyi" is vaguely used by the Hindus in various significations so that it is not easy to determine the particular meaning in which it is employed to designate this distinct caste. The name Gösain means either gaoswami or master of cows, or go-swami, master of the senses. In Bengal, the heads of the Bairāgi or Vaishṇava monasteries are called *Gössain*, and the priests of the Vaishṇava Vallabhachārya sect are known as Gokulastha Gössains. But all over India the name is applied to the members of the Śaivite orders. But the name at present is ordinarily used to designate the married members of the caste who pursue various avocations, while Sādhus or Sanyāsīs are known as mendicants.*

The Gössains consider their founder to have been Sankarāchārya, the great apostle of the revival of the Śaiva worship in Southern India. He had four disciples from whom the ten orders or Gössains are said to have been derived, and they are the following:—

Giri (peak or top of a hill).

Puri (a town).

Parvat (a mountain).

Sāgar (ocean).

Sarasvatī (Goddess of learning).

Ban or *Van* (the forest).

Tīrtha (a shrine of pilgrimage).

Bhārathī (the goddess of speech).

Aranya (forest).

Āsram (a hermitage).

* Russel: *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. III, page 150.



GOSAYIS IN MEDITATION.

The names given above refer to the different localities in which the members of each order would pursue their austerities. The different orders have their head-quarters at the great shrines. The *Sarasvati*, *Bhārathi* and *Pūri* are supposed to be attached to the monasteries at Sringerī in Mysore. The *Tīrtha* and *Āsram* are attached to Dwāraka in Gujarat. The *Vana* and *Araṇya* belong to Gōvardhana monastery at *Pūri*, while the *Giri*, *Parvatha* and *Sāgara* belong to the shrine at Bhadrināth in the Himalayas.

It is said that Dandis belong to one of the ten orders. In fact they are a special group of ascetics belonging to one of the groups, namely, *Tīrtha*, *Āsram*, *Bhārathi* or *Sarasvathi*. According to one account, a novice, who wishes to become a Sanyāsi must serve a period of probation as a Dandi for twelve years. Others say that only a Brāhman can be a Dandi, while members of other castes can become Sanyāsis. The Dandi is so called because he has a *dand* or bamboo staff like the ancient Vedic students. He must always carry it, and never let it down; and while sleeping he has to plant it on the ground. Sometimes a piece of red cloth is tied round it. The Dandi should live in the forest, and come only once a day to beg at a Brāhman's house for a part of such food as the family may have cooked. He should not ask for it if any one else, even a dog, is waiting for it. He cannot accept money or touch fire or any metal. In fact, these rules are disregarded, and the Dandi frequents towns accompanied by his companions who will accept all kinds of alms on his behalf. Dandis and Sanyāsis do not worship idols, for they have themselves become part of the deity. They always repeat, "*Sivōham*" which signifies "I am Siva." The Gōsāyis of Mysore mostly belong to

the Dandi sub-divisions. The distinguishing mark of those who bear this name is that they are devoted to a religious life. Some besmear their bodies with ashes, wear their hair dishevelled and uncombed, and sometimes coil round the head like snake or rope and sometimes tied into a knot on the top of the head. Formerly they went naked, but as they were prohibited by the British Government from appearing in that fashion in public, they defied decency all the same, by appearing in scanty dress. Sometimes they leave their homes and roam about the country on pilgrimage to remote shrines, begging for alms on their route. Most of them wear a yellowish garment by which they become conspicuous. Devotees of these classes usually wear garlands of beads round their necks hanging down in front, and carry a short one in the hand, which by the action of the thumb and finger they revolve perpetually but slowly, keeping time with the low utterances proceeding from their lips. They also bear upon their foreheads and on other parts of their bodies, especially the arms, sacred marks of symbols in honor of their gods. Some reside in monasteries or maṭhas leading a life of contemplation and ascetism. There are now Gōsāyis who, though belonging to the religious class, have adopted trade as their chief occupation. As merchants, bankers and tradesmen, they hold a responsible position. Some carry on their transactions on a large scale in Northern India. One of the chief peculiarities of this caste, is that besides its usual increase from within, it is constantly adding members from without, Brāhmans, Kshatriyās, Vaiśyās and Sūdrās. The first two may become Gōsāyis, but if they do so, and interdine with the members of the fraternity, drinking and holding free intercourse with them, they are for

ever cut off from their original castes or tribes. In these circumstances, the Gōsāyis constitute a distinct and legitimate caste, not merely a religious order.

The ceremony observed at the initiation of a **INITIATION.** Gōsāyi is as follows:—The candidate may be a boy or an adult. At the Sivarāthri (festival in honour of Siva) water brought from a tank in which an image has been deposited is applied to the head of the novitiate, which is thereupon shaved. The *guru* or the spiritual guide whispers into the disciple a *mantra* or sacred text. In honour of the event, all the Gōsāyis in the neighbourhood assemble together, and give their new member their blessing; and a sweet-meat called *laddu*, made very large is distributed among them. The novitiate is regarded as a Gōsayi; but he does not become a perfect one till the Vijayahōma has been performed, at which a Gōsāyi famous for religion and learning gives him the original *mantra* of Siva. The ceremony occupies three days at Benares, on the first day of which the Gōsāyi is again shaved, leaving a tuft on the top of the head called in Hindi, "*Chandi*," but in Sanskrit "*Sikha*." For that day he is considered to be Brāhman, and is obliged to beg at a few houses. On the second, he is held to be Brāhmachari, and wears coloured garments, also the *jāneo* or the sacred thread. On the third day, the *Jāneo* is taken from him, and the *chandi* or tuft of hair is cut off. He is taught the *mantra* of Siva and Rudra *Gāyitri*. He now becomes a full Gōsāyi or *Vānaprast*. He is bound to observe all the tenets of the Gōsāyis. The complete Gōsāyis are those who have performed the *Vijayahōma* and are celebrates.

"Gōsāyis," says Lewis Rice, "are followers of Chaitanya, the Vaishnavite reformer of the sixteenth century, whose original

disciples six in number, were so called. They lead an ascetic life and are known as *avadūtas*, while those engaged in commerce are called Dandi. Those that are in Mysore belong to the latter division, and are found in Bangalore and other towns. They are mostly merchants dealing largely in jewels and valuable embroidered cloths. The profits of the traffic go to the Mahant. The property of an *avadūta* or Dandi devolves on his *chela* or disciple."

Gōsāyis now marry and form an ordinary caste. Buchanan states that the different orders become exogamous steps for the purpose of marriage, but it is doubtful whether it is the case at present. They prohibit marriage between the first cousins, but widow marriage and divorce are permissible.

Women are admitted into the order, when they have their heads shaved, assume the ochre coloured shirt and smear their bodies with ashes. These women are supposed to live in nunneries, leading a chaste and pious life. But many of them live with men of the order, and the sons born of such unions would be adopted as *chelas* or disciples of other Gōsāyis, who make them their heirs by reciprocal arrangement. It is said that many of the wandering mendicants lead an immoral life. During their visits to villages, they engage in intrigues, and ribald Gond songs sung at the Holi festival describe the pleasure of the village women at the arrival of a Gōsāyi owing to the sexual gratification they derive from him. Nevertheless they have done much to foster and maintain the Hindu religion, and are the *gurus* or the spiritual preceptors of the middle and lower castes.*

CONCLUSION.

The Gōsāyis are all immigrants from Northern and Western India, and mostly belong to the Dandi sub-division. The Gōsāyi is nō caste, and generally

* Russel, R. V.: *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. II, pages 158-159.

any devotee may be called as such, whether he lives a life of celibacy or not; whether he roams about the country collecting alms in houses like the rest of the people, whether he leads an indolent life or employs himself in trade. Nevertheless, they bear all the marks which denote their dedication to a religious life. Some smear their bodies with ashes, wear their hair dishevelled and uncombed, and in some instances, coiled round the head like a snake or rope. Most of them wear a brown cloth by which they make themselves conspicuous.

GUDIKĀRA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS—EXOGAMOUS CLANS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE COUNCIL—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

GUDIKĀRAS or Gudigārs, carvers of sandal wood, are found in Sorāb and Sāgar of the Shimoga district. They are also found in the district of North Canara. They were not separately returned in the last Mysore Census, but were classed under the Pāñchālās by mistake. They call themselves Chitragār, a name given them by Manu. They claim to be Kshatriyās, wear holy thread over their left shoulder and have Brāhman *purohīts*. They follow the Hindu customs and rites of Brāhmins except in food. Their names end in Appa, Ayya, Anna, Ākka and Avva, but in some places Setty is added to the name.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

These were originally Kshatriyās but to escape from the persecution of Parasurāma, they adopted this handicraft. Under disguise they ran away from Northern India and sought refuge in Goa; where also they were persecuted by the Christians, who forced them to embrace Christianity. This led them to leave Goa and settle in the district of North Canara, whence they immigrated to Shimoga about the fifteenth century A.D. Owing to their long settlement there, they have forgotten Konkan language and have thoroughly adopted



A GROUP OF GUDIGARS.

Canarese in its stead. They are still attached to Goa, where their family god, Nagarēswara is enshrined in a temple, to worship whom they make pilgrimages.

They have no endogamous groups. But they have exogamous clans or *gōtras*, each of which has a family god and goddess. It is said that a Cobra never bites any of those that belong to the worship of Subramanya. The following are the *gōtras* to whom the castemen belong:—

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

Gotras.

Deities.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Vasishta | .. Ravalanatha. |
| 2. Visvāmitra (Kusika). | .. Mailara. |

These do not ride on a horse.

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 3. Bharadvāja | .. Chelu Mahamaya. |
|---------------------|--------------------|

These do not kill a scorpion.

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 4. Gautama | .. Venkataramana. |
| 5. Kasyapa | .. Venkataramana. |
| 6. Kamshya | .. Subrahmanya. |

These do not kill a cobra.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|
| 7. Kaulanda (Kaundinya) .. | .. Sānti Durga. |
|----------------------------|-----------------|

Other accounts give Atri instead of Kāsyapa and Mahābalēswara for their god.

Ceremonies connected with birth, naming and feeding are the same as those in the corresponding castes and need no repetition with the following exception. They give two names, one according to the star and the other suggested by the priest, or by some circumstances such as the family god, and this alone is used for life. If many children are lost previously, opprobrious names are given as the following:—
Bishta (thrown away); Gunda (stone); Tiraka

(beggar); Kalla (stone); Tippa (offal); and this is done so that the child may live long.

**MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.**

A Gudikar must marry in his own caste, but has to avoid a girl either of his own sect or that of his mother, of maternal or paternal grand-mother. But marriage with one's sister's daughter is very common now. Daughters can be exchanged between two families, though some object to this. Instances are rare of a man marrying two sisters simultaneously. Girls are married generally before puberty, and boys are married after sixteen: The parents settle marriages of their children. Though polygamy is permitted, it is seldom practised; and polyandry is unknown.

The bridegroom's party goes to the bride's house for settling the marriage in the presence of their castemen. A formal request is made and a formal consent is given. A *sari* and some jewels are presented to the bride, and *tāmbula* is distributed among all. The marriage ceremony takes place on an auspicious day and lasts for a week. On the first day, the family god is propitiated in both the houses; in the evening the bride-groom's party is welcomed by the bride's party in a temple (generally not Siva's); the bridegroom is formally respected with presents (*Varapūja*). Then all dine at the bride's house. On the second day, the god and goddess are worshipped, and the manes propitiated. At the appointed *lagna*, the bridegroom is brought in procession to the pandal. The bride is brought by her maternal uncle, or somebody in his place. The parents solemnly offer the hands of their daughter to the bridegroom when the priest chants *mantras* and *slokas* (verses) and women sing, and music is played, when the bridegroom ties the *tāli* round the neck of the bride.

In the evening, the couple eat out of the leaf (*būma* or *būva*).

On the third and fourth days, feast and merriment take place; the bridegroom steals away an idol of Sri Krishna from the bride's house and stays away on that night. The next morning (fifth day) he is captured and brought back and *nāgavali* ceremony is celebrated in propitiating the *dēvatās*, when the pair are placed in the midst of four vessels filled with water around which threads pass connecting them. Then the female relations of the bride and bridegroom go one after another round the marriage *pandal* with *ārati* and light on the head, while the husbands follow their respective wives with a drawn sword being pointed towards the flame. This being over, the married pair go to make *grahapravēsa* or entry into the husband's house. The bride enters the house by kicking aside a tumbler of rice placed for the purpose on the threshold of the house. The bride is formally made over to the bridegroom's party. Her palm impressions are made on the wall with *ārati* water. In the evening, the pair are taken in procession along the town or village, and on their return *ārati* is waved.

The next day (sixth), the bride-groom's party entertain the bride's relations with dinner and presents of clothes. The next morning (seventh) the bride's party gives the last dinner (*kōlātta*) after which people take leave of one another. The most important part of the marriage is the tying of the *tāli*, though others say that it is not the most important. The expenses of the marriage may be Rs. 200 on the male side and Rs. 100 on the bride's side. The bride-groom's party has to distribute a *jāti dakshine* among the men of the caste, which amounts to sixteen rupees. The married girl lives

in her husband's house for a month, and then she lives with her parents till she attains her age.

When a girl attains her age, she is kept apart, and in the evening she sits well-decked on a seat and *ārati* is waved. Within sixteen days thereafter, consummation takes place in the house of the husband, in the same manner as that of high class Hindus.

Widows are not allowed to marry but, among those that are outside Mysore and follow *Aliya-santāna*, they may be allowed to do so. There may be some difference in the marriage ceremonies in certain families, for some follow their non-Brahminic neighbours, and make them simpler and end them with the search for the ring in a pot and the removal of *kankanas*.

INHERIT- ANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Gudikāras follow the inheritance in both the lines. The members of the community living in Mysore follow the inheritance in the male line, while those in North Canara follow it in the female line.

CASTE COUNCIL.

They have five such divisions called *Sime* :—

1. Chandavara <i>śime</i>	} North Canara.
2. Swade	..	..
3. Biligi	..	..
4. Nagara	} Mysore.
5. Soraba	..	..

They have many family names. Each *śime* has a headman called *gauda* or *buddhivanta*. Their caste and social disputes are settled in Councils of the *śime* presided over by the *gauda* and in his absence some other *buddhivanta* (wise man). Their *guru* is the *Swāmi* of Sringeri Maṭha to whom final appeal is made.

The *gaudas* are very much respected; and on marriage occasions, they are given double *tāmbula* (*Jodi Vilya*), and their offices are hereditary.

They adore all Hindu gods, and their spiritual head is the *Smārtha guru* of Sringeri. Their family priests are the Havig Brāhmans whom they treat with respect. They make pilgrimages to Tirupati, Dharmasthal, Gōkarnam and Rāmēswaram. They observe all Hindu fasts and festivals. They worship Gauri and Gaṇēśa. In Dasara, they worship their family gods and goddesses more elaborately, and on the Navami day they worship the tools. Mondays and Saturdays are sacred to them. Women observe Gauri *pūja* on Tuesdays and Fridays. Their *gōtra* deities are specially worshipped. They make pilgrimages to sacred places renowned for their deities. All Gudikāras worship Nāgarēswara. Their priests are Sivalli Brāhmans; and some are devoted to Śiva, and some to Viṣṇu, while others to Gaṇēśa, Subrahmanya, and to their consorts.

RELIGION.

They Gudikāras burn dead bodies. As soon as a person dies, the body is bathed and laid on *darbha* grass wrapped in a piece of cloth and taken to the cremation ground. On the bier it is placed, stripped of all clothes, and burnt. The ashes are collected and thrown into a river or tank. The pollution is for ten days in the case of adults. The period may extend to forty days if the death is unnatural. The details are like those of their priests (Brāhmans). The sacred thread of the males and the *tāli* of the females are burned with the bodies.

FUNERAL
CEREMONIES.

They perform *Srādhā* in the month of Bhādrapāda, as well as on the anniversary days with great zeal; provisions and *dakshine* are given to Brāhmans. The first wife's spirit is also propitiated by the living

wife, by the distribution of betel leaves, fruits and sweatmeats (*tambittu*) among the five or more ladies invited for the occasion. They are then fed and given *tāmbula*.

OCCUPATION.

The name 'Gudikārs' means temple workers, carvers, painters and picture drawers. They are sometimes called Rathakara (car-builders). They must have been aware of carpentry which they must have subsequently given up. They call themselves Gauda Chitrakārās, because they were proficient in drawing and painting in times past. There is also another derivation which is, that Gudikār is a corruption of the Sanskrit Kūttakār, a carver, and this is supported by the fact that their castemen at Goa are still employed in carving, turning, painting and other decorative arts. The men though skilful, are unsteady, thriftless, untruthful, lazy and inattentive to their work. They carve sandalwood, ivory, ebony with great skill. They also work in the lathe in wood, making beautiful lacquered articles. The pith crowns worn by bridegrooms and pith flowers and crests which are mostly used by the lower classes of Hindus during the summer holidays in March and April are made by them. They do not make wedding coronets for dancing girls, as they refuse to dance in their houses. The Gudikārs work the lathe with a bow-string with raw deer hide, not like most of the carpenters with the help of the second workman. The women help the men in making articles of pith. They make lacquer work boxes costing thirty to five hundred rupees, cabinets costing from one to one thousand rupees, work tables varying from two to six hundred rupees, watch stands from two to hundred and fifty rupees, glove boxes from thirty-five to two hundred rupees, pen-holders from one to thirty rupees, card cases



GUDIGARS AT WORK.

from ten to thirty rupees, chess boards from fifty to thousand rupees, paper weights from three to thirty rupees, paper cutters from eight annas to ten rupees, card boxes from thirty-five to two hundred rupees, and handkerchief boxes from fifteen to fifty rupees. An article worth hundred rupees takes about three months' labour and the cost of the sandal wood is about fifteen rupees. They generally work to order, seldom offering articles for sale except such as have been condemned by the people who order them. Their chief calling is painting and engraving. They paint boards for various purposes and do all sorts of turning work. Improvident habits have greatly ruined them. They were once in well-to-do circumstances, and owned lands. They rank next to traders, but do not take the food of any except that prepared by the Havig Brāhmans. Their hours of work are the same as those of the other artisan classes. The women besides attending to domestic work help the men in making articles of pith and in painting.

Though there are only three families in Sāgar and about six in Sorāb, who contribute only a small number of artisans, yet they excel their brethren in Canara in nice finish. They have done capital work in the construction of the new palace at Mysore.

To quote from Mr. L. Rice.—“The designs with which Gudigārs entirely cover the boxes, desks and other articles made are of an extremely involved and elaborate pattern, consisting for the most part of intricate interlacing foliage and scroll work, completely enveloping medallions containing the representation of some Hindu deity, or subject of mythology, and here and there relieved by the introduction of animal forms. The details, though in themselves, often highly incongruous, are grouped and blended with a skill that seems to be instinctive in the East, and form an exceedingly rich and appropriate ornamentation,

decidedly oriental in style, which leaves not the smallest portion of the surface of the wood untouched. The material is hard and the minuteness of the work demands the utmost care and patience. Hence the carving of a desk or cabinet involves a labour of many months, and the artists are said to lose their eye-sight at a comparatively early age. European designs they imitate to perfection.

"The carving of Sorab is considered superior to that of Bombay or Canton. Boards for album covers, cabinet surrounded with figures, and caskets for presentation to eminent persons such as Governors and Viceroy are all executed by the Sorāb Gudigārs. They were awarded a gold medal at the Delhi Durbar Exhibition of 1903 for a magnificent sandal wood casket (now in the Madras Museum) ornamented with panels representing hunting scenes. Their tools for carving are shaped out of iron sticks, and they look like barber's nail-parers."

SOCIAL STATUS.

They eat meat and fish, and drink wine although some say that they are vegetarians. They eat in Brāhman houses; and in their houses, Hale-paikas and Bestas eat. They may enter the environments of Hindu temples, but not into the *Garbha Gudi* (*Sanctum Sanctorum*); and they cannot take part in religious ceremonies as Brāhmans do. They can draw water from the village well, and worship the village *Asvatha* (*Ficus religiosa*). The males wear the sacred thread, their right to it not being questioned by anybody in the neighbourhood. The investiture of this thread generally takes place on the eve of marriage. Their women smear their face with turmeric paste, and put on a round mark of *kunkuma* on their forehead. In dress, both males and females look like high class Hindus.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

In appearance they are fair, middle-sized and are seen in all shades of complexion. The dress and ornaments of men and women are the same as those of the other sections of the artisan classes. The women dress in robe passing the skirt back

between the feet with a short-sleeved bodica. The up-country women do not pass the end of the robe between the feet.

The Gudikārs are carvers in sandal-wood. Strictly speaking, they should come under the Panchalas, but they come under a separate caste. They call themselves Kshatriyās. They have no endogamous groups, but have exogamous clans called *gōtras*. They are mostly confined to the district of Shimoga. They are skilful in carving, painting and picture-drawing, and their work has won the admiration of people outside.

CONCLUSION.

HALLIKAR OR HALLKIAR OKKALIGAS.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE—ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS—EXOGRAMOUS CLANS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—POST NATAL CEREMONIES—CASTE COUNCILS—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—DRESS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Hallikars are included under the head of Okkaligas in all the Census Reports, and their exact number is not therefore ascertainable. They are found in larger numbers in the districts of Tumkur, Bangalore, Mysore and Hassan than in others. In the Tumkur district, they live mostly in the taluks of Sira, Gubbi, Maddagiri and Chiknaikanahalli.*

The caste is known as Hallikararu or Hallikar Okkaligas. In some places, they call themselves Servegars, Servegara meaning chief herdsman in the Amrit Mahal Department, from their occupation of cattle breeding. The word Hallikar or Halligar means a villager, and is also applied to a superior breed of cattle bred in the State. *Gauda* and *Naika* are the titles affixed to their names, and the common honorific suffixes *Appa* and *Ayya* for males and *Avva* and *Akka* for females are also in use. Their home language is Canarese.

ORIGIN OF THE CASTE.

The Hallikaras are sometimes called Okkaligas. They are in no way related to the Gangadikaras or Morasu Okkaligas. They say that they are more allied to Kādu-Gollas, Gollas and Kurubas, with whom it is

* *Mysore Census Report 1891.*

stated that they could enter into marital relations formerly. They now associate with them only for meals.

Certain privileges are said to have been obtained for the caste by two persons Dimmi Dodda Naika, and Challe Timma Naika, who were related as brothers-in-law. They served in the Vijayanagar army. Both of them accompanied their king, on a hunting expedition, and exhibited conspicuous bravery in killing a venomous serpent by trampling on it, and in stabbing a tiger with a dagger in close combat. As a reward for it, the heavy bride-price prevailing in the caste was reduced, and certain insignia were allowed to be exhibited by them during their marriages. Though the custom of carrying all of them has fallen into desuetude, still mention of their names is made at their marriages. The king however grew jealous of the increasing influence of their caste, and contrived a plot by which he would invite them to a dinner, and make them lose their caste by making them partake of beef and liquor by deceit. The two chiefs got secret information of this intention, and resolved to escape from the mischief of the King by flight. The miracle of a river in full flood giving them a passage occurred by virtue of their prayers, but after the whole band of followers had passed, the two leaders were overtaken by the King's army on the other side, and put to death. Their services are commemorated to this day by the award of two *tāmbulas* (betel-leaves), in their names on occasions of marriage or other auspicious event in the families of their castemen. It cannot be ascertained why they adopted the name of Hallikar (a villager) for the whole caste.

Endogamous Groups.—There are two sections among them known as the old (*hale*) and the new (*hosa*). Hallikars are said to be the descendants

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

of the older and younger branches of the same stock, but it is doubtful, if they are to be regarded as endogamous groups.

Exogamous Clans.—Like the Kunchigas, they also claim to have 101 *kulas*, divided into two agnetic groups of 50 and 51. The names of some of these *kulas* are given below. Of these, some are found among Kādu Gollas and Kurubas.

List of Exogamous Clans.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|---|
| 1. Ajjana .. | .. | A tree (<i>Antiaris toxicaria</i>). |
| 2. Alada .. | .. | Banyan tree. |
| 3. Betta .. | .. | A mountain. |
| 4. Gode .. | .. | A wall. |
| 5. Guddada .. | .. | A hill. |
| 6. Havu .. | .. | A snake. In this <i>kula</i> , Challe Timma Naika was born. |
| 7. Jalagannu or Jalgondana. | | |
| 8. Jogi .. | .. | An Ascetic. |
| 9. Malle Kavina .. | .. | Dimmi Dodda Naika was born in this <i>kula</i> . |

**MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS.**

Girls are married both before and after they come of age. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage by a member of the caste, she is married in the *kudike* form on payment of a fine to the caste.

**MARRIAGE
CEREMONIES.**

The preliminary ceremony is the betrothal known as *Oppu-Vilya* or *tāmbula* given in token of consent, *Vilya Sāstra*. The ceremonial bath of the parties for marriage, the bringing home of the sacred pots, erection of the marriage booth covered with leaves and with twelve pillars, of which the "milk post" is of the Indian fig, a feast held in honour of the gods and the deceased ancestors, three or five women bringing water from a well or water-course are other items.

On the day of marriage proper, the bridegroom gets his nails pared, bathes, puts on a new dress,

goes to a temple, and waits till the arrival of the bride's party. In the meanwhile, the various articles brought with him are taken thrice to the bride's house, when he is taken in procession on horseback, carrying with him a dagger covered with flowers, a small bag, fruits and betel. A lighted torch is carried even in the day time, with a cloth canopy in folds behind. A basket styled a golden box containing presents for the bride is carried to the *pandal* by an unmarried girl, along with the sacred pots, and the *bhashinga* which are worshipped. When the bride-groom reaches the marriage dais the bride is brought in for *dhāre*, which is performed by the pouring of water into the hands of the bride-groom by the parents of the girl followed by other relations. Then the bridegroom ties the *tālī* round the neck of the bride, and both have the *kankana* tied round their wrists. They then go round the milk-post and offer *pūja* to it; and this renders the marriage complete. The married couple then sit together and receive *śase*, which consists of married women throwing rice and sesamum on them, expressive of a wish for plenty in the new household to be set up. In some places, the couple are taken to the bridegroom's house where the *dhāre* ceremony is repeated. This second ceremony goes by the name of *Thumbe Huvina Dhāre*. Sporting with *Okuli* (red coloured water) takes place on the third day after the marriage, and the couple get their nails pared and then have a bath. The posts of the *pandal* are worshipped, and all are removed except two, which are kept standing for about a month. The *Griha-pravēsa* or entry into the husband's house is symbolised by the bride's carrying a pot of water from a water-course to her new home. The bride-price was one hundred and one *varahas*. Many found it difficult to pay; consequently many

women had to remain unmarried. It is now reduced to fifteen rupees. No price is paid for the remarriage of a widow.

**PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.**

The girl is considered impure for ten or twelve days after puberty, when she has to live in a hut of leaves outside the house. She is not admitted into the inner apartments till the expiry of a month when she has to worship Ganga after bathing in a water course or tank. The hut is to be put up by the girl's maternal uncle or his son, and the materials are removed by the washerman. If the girl is already married, there is feasting during these days and the information is carried to the husband's family. If unmarried, the formalities are put off till her marriage. The consummation cannot take place within three months after marriage, if the girl had already attained the age of womanhood.

A widow may remarry any man except her deceased husband's brothers at any time after she is widowed. The form of marriage is called *sire udike*; i.e., the wearing of the cloth presented by the man. Only widows attend the ceremony, and one of them ties the *tāli* which is thrown in from a distance by the caste *yajaman*. A widow can only wear silver bangles. No sum is paid to her as bride-price. This is enough to indicate that the relation is not held in high esteem, but the marriage itself is quite legal.

**ADULTERY
AND
DIVORCE.**

An unmarried woman is allowed to marry a paramour if he is of the same caste, and will not suffer any loss of status. Similarly, a married woman who is divorced for misconduct may enter into a *kudike*.

**POST NATAL
CEREMONIES.**

The custom connected with delivery and all ceremonies to be performed thereafter are the same

as those observed among the Kurubas and other corresponding castes.

Their caste councils are presided over by a *yajaman* and a *gauda*. The territorial jurisdiction of a *yajaman* is called a *kattemane*. Such *kattemanes* are found in Basavanahalli, Chinnakote, Devihalli (Belur taluk), Dodderi (Maddagiri taluk), Gollahalli (Nelamangala taluk), Gorache halli, Kadaba, Kadur, Kikkeri, Kodihalli and Melur. CASTE COUNCILS.

A number of *kattemanes* is included in larger jurisdiction of a Gadi (district). There are nine such districts in the State, *viz.*, Bangalore, Brahmasamudra (Kadur District), Channagiri, Chikmagalur, Maddagiri, Mysore, Nagar, Tarikere and Tumkur. The functionaries of these councils are honoured with double *tāmbulas* during marriages. The Helāva (or Bhata) gets two hanas (9 as. 4 pies) contributed equally by the parties.

They are generally Vaishnavas, but they worship also Śiva. Their gods are Narasimha, Krishna, Lakshmi, Yallamma, Māstamma, Hampapuradamma and Nagarada Huchchamma. Huchchamma is said to have been brought with them from Vijayanagar. This goddess is taken once a year to a water-course and worshipped there. Animal food is offered to some female deities. In marriages and on similar occasions, a *gaddige* (seat) is worshipped, when their patron saints, Dimmi Dodda Naik and Challe Jimma Naik are honoured. In all their auspicious ceremonies, Brāhmīns act as *purohīts*. One of the seats of their *guru* is Kodihalli in the Sira taluk of the Tumkur district. RELIGION.

The dead are buried except in the case of lepers and pregnant women. Sometimes, their bodies are FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

buried under a heap of stones, as also those of persons killed by wild animals. Soon after death, the dead body is washed with warm water, and dressed with the clothes the deceased liked best while alive, and carried on a bier to the burial ground, where the dress is removed and the body is wrapped in a new cloth and placed in the grave, the head being placed to the south. A pot containing water is let fall so as to break near the head, and a fire is kindled. On returning home, they first sprinkle rice on the roof of the house, before entering it. Death pollution lasts for eleven days. Funeral ceremonies commence on the third, fifth, or ninth day after death, and they consist in setting up a stone to represent the ghost of the deceased and offering it food and drink. If the deceased was a Vaishṇava, a Sātāni priest is invited to officiate on the eleventh day. On the twelfth day, the house is purified by the help of a Brāhman, and a dinner is given to the castemen.

Annual *srāddhas* are not performed individually ; but all the deceased ancestors of a family are propitiated on a day in the dark fortnight of *Bhadrapāda*, or in the month of *Chaitra*. A *kalasā* is set up and food, clothes and lights are placed before it ; a feast is held outside the village in honour of those who died as bachelors, and who are on that account called *Iragāraru*.

OCCUPATION.

They were largely employed as menial servants and postal runners under Government. Their chief occupation at present is agriculture and cattle breeding.

SOCIAL STATUS.

Outsiders are not admitted into the caste. They eat in the houses of Brāhmins, Lingāyats, Kunchitigas, Rājputs, Gollas, Gangadikars and Kurubas. Kunchitigas, Gangadikaras, Kurubas and Bedas eat

in their houses. Helavas are said to be the Hale-makkalu or the dependent beggars of the caste.

They eat the flesh of sheep, fowls, hare and fish ; Food. but they do not drink any liquor.

The women of this caste were not allowed, till Dress. recently, to plait their hair, or to wear bodices. This prohibition is accounted for in the following way. When the bride-price was originally very heavy, Dimmi Dodda Naik reduced it, with the help of Challe Timma Naik. Then a great many women who had remained as maids had to be married all at once. They had no time to plait their hair ; and the men who went to the bazar to buy new bodices did not return in time. Thenceforward this became the custom and those who transgressed it would be shorn of their hair. These prohibitions have now disappeared on account of the progressive civilisation.

Hallikars are more allied to Kadu Gollas. Their Conclusion. marriage and other customs are similar to those of the Sudras. They are now cultivators and cattle-breeders. *

HALE PAIKA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE, ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS, EXOGAMOUS CLANS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE COUNCIL—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

HALE PAIKAS, or Divaru as they prefer to call themselves, form a caste which is chiefly found in the Malnād taluks of Shimoga and Kadur districts. Their population was 15,000 according to Census Report of 1891. But since then, they have not been separately returned, but have been included under the Idigas, with whom relationship exists. They must have considerably increased since then. In some places they call themselves Billavas, and profess to be a separated caste, which is a mistake. This caste is also found in the adjoining districts of North and South Canara. It is possible that they may be akin to the Thiyas of Malabar, whose status, and occupation bear a close resemblance to their own.* The term '*Hale Paikas*' probably implies that they were the old infantry or the foot-soldiers. Billōru of Billuvaru means Halu Kshatriyas (milk-Kshatriyas). They affix the title *Nāik* to their names, though they generally go without any appellation. In a few places, the title '*Gauda*' is added to the names of Billavas. The Hale Paikās of Mysore speak both Canarese and Tulu.

* L. K. A. Iyer: *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, page 277.



A GROUP OF HALLEPAIKAS.

When Gopālakrishnarāya was ruling Vijayanagar, the ancestors of the Hale Paikas were living in Kumārakshētra, a place near the kingdom. One of them was Nārāyaṇa, son of Ranga Nāik and Lakshmi Dēvi, who served the king so faithfully that the village of Hale Paik was granted to him as Inām. Kumārakshētra and Hale Paik still denote tribal names; from which the former is applied to the Kumāra Kshatriyās.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE
CASTE.

Tradition goes that when Pārvati was strolling with her consort, she felt thirsty. Iswara created a man out of his sweat, and naming him Dēva, ordered him to tap the *bāgini*. Parvati asked him to take it for his profession as it was very delicious. Brahma, the creator, being desirous of drinking water, asked a man to tap the cocoanut tree, and supplied him with knife and arrow.

Hale Paikas of Mysore and Canara correspond to the Izhuvans or Tiyyans (*Dwipar* or *Divar*, i.e., islanders). It is said that the Izhuvans or Tiyyans are the descendants of the Shānar colonists of Ceylon, and that in their migrations to the West Coast (Malabar) they brought with them the cocoa-nut and palmyra palms the cultivation of which is even now their chief occupation.* Some 130 years ago, they were largely employed as soldiers along with the Nayars by the old rulers of Travancore, the chief of whom was the Raja of Ambalapuzha and Purakād.† So also had the Tiyyans of North Malabar formed a military class in former times, and there was a Tiyya regiment of a thousand soldiers at Tellicherry with men of their own caste, who held high and responsible posts and distinguished themselves by the most conspicuous gallantry and fidelity. The survival of their former greatness

* *Mackenzie Manuscripts.*

† *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, page 278.

is still kept by the costumes of the bridegroom and their friends on their marriage occasions, namely, a pointed helmet on their heads, the *kacha*, i.e., cloth worn round the loin, a knife stuck in the girdle and drawn swords and shields in the hands of the bridegroom and his two friends. The sword and shield dance were the indispensable accompaniments until lately, all denoting a warlike career.

There is a legend that one of their ancestors became commander of the Vijayanagar army, and was made ruler of a State and given a village named Hale Paika as a *jagir* (hereditary assignment of land). Some Hale Paikas report that they belong to the *tengina* (cocoanut palm) section, because they are engaged in tapping that palm for toddy. It is well known that before and after the Christian Era there were invasions and occupations of the northern part of Ceylon by the races then inhabiting Southern India and Malabar that tell us that some of these Dravidians migrated from Iram or Ceylon, northwards to Travancore and other parts of the west coast of India, bringing with them the cocoanut or southern tree (*tengina mara*) and being known as *Tivar* (Islanders) or Iravars which must have been changed to Tiwar or Ilavar. This derivation would also explain the name "*Dīvaru*" or "Hale Paik Dīvaru" borne by the same class of people in the northern part of the district and in North Canara. In Manjarabad above the Ghats, which, with Tulava, was in olden days under the rule of the Huncha family, known later as the Baxirasu Wodeyars of Karakal, they are called "*Dēvaru Makkalu*," literally "God's children," but more likely a corruption of "*Tīvaru Makkalu*," children of the islanders. In support of this tradition, Mr. Logan has pointed out that in the list of exports from Malabar given in the Periplus in the

first century A.D. no mention is made of the cocoanut. It was, however, mentioned by Cosmos Indico Pleustes (522 to 547 A.D.); and from the Syrian Christians' copper plate grants, early in the ninth century,* it appears that the Tiyans were at that time an organized guild of professional planters. Although the cocoanut tree might have been introduced by the descendants of the immigrants from Ceylon moving up the Coast, the practice of planting and drawing toddy was no doubt taken up by the ordinary Tulu cultivators, and whatever the origin of the name Billava may be, they are an essentially Tulu class of people, following the prevailing rule that property vests in females and devolves in the female line.†

There seem to be no endogamous divisions among the Hale Paikas although there is a sub-division called the Punderu, the members of which have no objection to marry with the other Hale Paikas, though they refuse to eat in their houses. There are, however, several names such as Bāgini, Dīvaru, or Bainu Dīvar, Tenginahale, or Tengina Divaru, Antukalu, Billoru, Kakiladevaru, which may perhaps be local names, and which in course of time may have gained the force of endogamy. Aliya-santāna in the West Coast might have contributed to the exclusiveness in marriage matters between the Tulu speaking and Canarese speaking members of this caste. At present, Tengina Hale Paikas (known also as Billōru) and Bāgini Hale Paikas (known also as Dēvars) do not generally intermarry, although they interdine; so that they have almost become endogamous groups of this caste.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
ENDOAMOUS
GROUPS

* *Anthropology of the Syrian Christians*, Chap. IV, pages 51-53.

† J. Sturrock: *Manual of South Canara District*, page 172.

EXOGAMOUS
CLANS.

The family groups are known as *Balis* (way, line of descent), and are named after plantains, deer, gold, diamond, turmeric, pepper-plant, wolf, etc. As many as twenty-two of them, mostly on the West Coast, seem to imply totemism but not in South Canara.

The Hale Paikas have a totemistic social organization. Each exogamous section known as '*bali*' (lit. a creeper) is named after some animal or tree which is held sacred by the members of the same. This animal, tree or flower, etc., seems to have been once considered the common ancestor of the members of the *bali*, and to the present day it is both worshipped by them, and held sacred in the sense that they will not injure it. Thus the members of Nāgbali, named apparently after the Nagchampa flower, will not wear this flower in their hair, as it would involve injury to the plant. The Kadavebali will not kill the Elk plant (Can. Kadava) from which they take their name. The *balis* are very numerous. The names and origins of some of the most important are given below. The existence of these totem divisions seems to establish the Dravidian origin of the caste.

TENGINA DIVARS.

Name.	Derivation.
Ajjane <i>bali</i> ..	.. Ajja : a tree (<i>Antiaris toxicaria</i>).
Arashina <i>bali</i> ..	.. Arasina : turmeric (<i>Curcuma longa</i>).
Bhairana <i>bali</i> ..	.. Bairana : a bird.
Chendi <i>bali</i> ..	.. Chendi : a tree (<i>Cebere odallum</i>).
Devana <i>bali</i> ..	.. Devana : a tree (<i>Artemesia phalleris</i>).
Ganga <i>bali</i> ..	.. Ganga : a river Gangavali.
Handi <i>bali</i> ..	.. Handi : a pig.
Hole <i>bali</i> ..	.. Hole : a tree (<i>Terminalia arjuna</i>).
Honne <i>bali</i> ..	.. Honne : a tree (<i>Paterocarpus marsupium</i>).
Kanne <i>bali</i> ..	.. Kanna : a tree.

TENGINA DIVARS—*concl'd.*

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Derivation.</i>
Kendi <i>bali</i> ..	.. Kendi : a tree (<i>Prosopis spicigera</i>).
Manal <i>bali</i> ..	.. Manal : a tree (<i>Pithocolobium dulce</i>).
Nag <i>bali</i> ..	.. Nagchampa : a tree (<i>Mesua ferrea</i>).
Salyan <i>bali</i> ..	.. Saler : a porcupine.
Shetti <i>bali</i> ..	.. Shetti or Shetli : a fish.
Shige <i>bali</i> ..	.. Shige : soapnut (<i>Acacia concinna</i>).
Shire <i>bali</i> ..	.. Shire : a tree (<i>Gyan dropsis pentaphyllis</i>).
Shivana <i>bali</i> ..	.. Shivani : a tree (<i>Gmelina arborea</i>).
Tolana <i>bali</i> ..	.. Tola : a wolf.
Vali <i>bali</i> ..	.. Vali : a creeper.

BAINU DIVARS.

Bangar <i>bali</i> ..	.. Bangar : gold.
Kadave <i>bali</i> ..	.. Kadave : elk.
Mahar <i>bali</i> ..	.. Mahar : a low caste or Mhad, the palm tree.
Sarpana <i>bali</i> ..	.. Sarpa : a snake.

The Hōle *bali* and Mahar *bali* are held to be socially inferior, and the girls of these sections alone may be married to members of other *balis*. A special feature of these *balis* is that they are traced through females and not through males. This practice suggests the former prevalence of polyandry, and serves to confirm the opinion that the original home of the caste was in Southern India. *Balis* of the kind are found among many castes in North Canara, notably the four Vakkal castes, i.e., Halavakki, Gam, Kot and Kare, and the following others:—

Ager.	Moger.
Ambig.	Mukri.
Harakantra.	Suppalig.
Haslar.	Uppar.
Kumbhar.	

Many of these also reckon descent through females.

Comparing the Hale Paikas with the Tiyaṇs of North Malabar, it will be noted that, in addition to the common appellation of "Divar" the castes resemble each other in being divided into *balis*, in tracing descent through females, and in their occupation of toddy drawing. In appearance, they are not dissimilar. The Izhuvans of a few taluks of South Malabar and in the Northern parts of the Cochin State practise polyandry to the present day, but they seem to have given it up.*

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.

Marriage is generally infant or adult, the former is becoming more popular. A man cannot marry in his mother's *bali* or within his sept; so a daughter of maternal aunt, or paternal uncle, is also rejected; while a daughter of paternal aunt, or maternal uncle, or of the sisters of the wife of a paternal uncle can be chosen. Agnates are avoided. A man cannot marry a girl if she stands to him in the relation of a daughter-in-law, mother-in-law or sister, though their *balis* are different. A man cannot marry two sisters at the same time. Exchange of daughters between two families is practised. Distinctions based on locality, profession, etc., are no bar to marriage.

In adult marriages, a fine of 25 *hanas* is said to be levied in the neighbourhood of Srīṅgēri, (a *hana* being equal to 4 as. 8 p.). Of this amount, five *hanas* are given to the Brāhman *purōhit*, ten to Srīṅgeri *Maṭha* and ten to the castemen. The *tera* varies from rupees twelve to twenty or to Rs. 200. There is no bridegroom price. Boys are married from their sixteenth year. Girls for whom husbands cannot be found are not married to swords, etc., nor are they made Basavis. Polygamy is practised, but not polyandry.

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, page 301.

When a girl is selected for a man, the man's father goes to the girl's and both together consult an astrologer as to the agreement of their horoscopes; sometimes the village god is worshipped to get a token of approval, such as the falling of a flower on the right side of the idol. On the day fixed for the betrothal (*Nambuge*), the boy's father feeds his relatives, and his mother worships in front of the *Tulasi Mantap*, after which two new baskets, covered with red cloth, containing 33 plants, 2 cocoanuts, 2 halves of dry cocoanuts, 11 seers of rice, 11 date fruits, 11 *tondekayis* (gourds), 22 betel leaves, 11 arecanuts, and 11 kinds of flowers. Besides these, black beads, sugar, turmeric, vermilion, jewels and clothes are also kept in the baskets. A Brāhman priest sets up a lump of cowdung with blades of *Garika* grass at the top to represent Ganapati, and worships it with flowers, fruits, incense and camphor. The baskets are taken in, after which *lagna patrikas* are exchanged. The girl is dressed in the clothes and decked with jewels that are in the baskets. She is then led to the assembly, by married women, who carry a tray containing a *kalasa*, a mirror and a representation of Ganapati, all placed on rice spread in the tray. The boy's father puts the *tera* into the *kalasa*; the tray is then worshipped by the priest, who then gives *prasāda* to the boy's father; his mother fills up the lap of the girl with remaining contents of the baskets. In some places the parents of the boy, the girl, and their relatives, exchange jaggery syrup, after which they stand in two rows facing each other, and pay and receive the bride-price declaring and acknowledging the promise that the girl is given and received by the parties respectively. They then clap their hands in token of the completion of the ceremony. Betel leaves

and nuts are distributed; and after dinner the parties disperse. A like ceremony is said to be observed in the house of the boy.

On the day previous to the marriage, the boy and the girl are anointed with gingelly oil, and they bathe after cleaning with soap. They have their nails pared by a barber, and the boy has his chin shaved. The village washerman supplies clothes or touches the new clothes of the boy. Their parents bathe and worship *Tulasi* and the family deity near an ant-hill where images of serpents are placed. In the bride's house, a *pandal* is erected with twelve posts, one of which is a milk post (with a branch of fig, mango or jack). This is done by the castemen or Holeyas, who receive some presents for their services. A raised platform is erected in the centre for the couple to sit on. Near by another *pandal*, called *Muttina-Chappara*, is erected on five posts. In some places several marriages take place in the same *pandal* simultaneously, the number of milk-posts denoting the number of marriages. The village washerman supplies clothes to cover the *pandal*, while the village carpenter provides seats for them. The boy and the girl sit on a blanket in their own houses and worship a *kalāśa* of water; women wave *ārati*, a dinner called god's feast is held, and the deceased ancestors are also propitiated. In the evening, the bridegroom goes on horseback to the bride's village with a dagger or sword in his hand. The bride's party meets, and gives him and his party jaggery syrup. They are sumptuously entertained. Early next morning both parties together bring twelve fresh earthen pots with lids from the potter with due ceremonies, and place them in the marriage *pandal*. These are worshipped along with a cone of cowdung with a tuft of *Hariāli* grass representing Gaṇeśa. The men and their women

bring water from a river or well, and install a *kalasa* for Gauri and worship it. The pots are then filled with water. The parties proceed with music on a cloth spread by the washerman with a canopy above them, and meet the bride standing with her mother. A woman stands appointed, and she pours a pot of water on the bride's head. Then they meet the bridegroom and his sister in his quarters, and bathe them likewise. The sister is decked with flowers on her head. The bride and her party walk on the spread cloth to the *Muttina chappara*. Several women bring up the rear, with the *kalasa*, the baskets and other auspicious things. The bridegroom comes on horseback and alights on the other side screened off with a temporary screen. The bride is dressed in new clothes and decked with the jewels from the baskets. The bridegroom's sister takes the flower from her braid and puts it on to the bride's. They wait till the auspicious time is announced, when the screen drops down. Immediately the couple throw on each other cumin seeds and pounded jaggery and exchange garlands. The bride's parents respect the bridegroom, and make a formal gift of the bride to him by *dhāre*, when they pour water from the *kalasa* on the palms of the bride held over those of the bridegroom. Elderly relatives also pour *dhāre* water. At this time, the bride's father wears the sacred thread. *Kankanas* are tied to the hands of the couple. Then the bridegroom ties the *tālī* to the neck of the bride. The castemen throw on the heads of the couple, *akshate* with blessings. The couple then bow down to the milk-posts, to the pots, and the gods of the house; while going to the gods, the bridegroom's sister obstructs till the couple mention each other's name, and exacts a promise that their first daughter will be given in marriage to her son.

Then the couple dine from the same dish. After dinner the couple receive the blessings of the caste-men, who sometimes make presents of coins to the couple. Animal food is, as a rule, avoided on the marriage day.

Among a section of the Hale Paikas the custom is prevalent of a mat held at the corners by the parents of the couple, with a cocoanut on it, called *hasikavi*, which is received from the *purōhit*. The pair walk round this mat three times. They spread a *sādi* with its unwoven ends uncut on the mat, and again walk round this; the mat is then spread near a wall on which a figure of a square is drawn in red and white. The couple sit on this mat and receive blessings from the *purōhit*, and relatives with *akshate*. Betel leaves and nuts are then distributed. The couple have to trip vessels on their way to the *pandal*, and the mischief-makers receive some presents.

The ceremonies extend from three to eight days. On the last day, the *nāgavali* ceremony is gone through, and they worship the *pandal* posts with offerings of cooked rice. The bride is led to her husband's house, and is received by her parents-in-law. The *pandal* may now be removed; if it is not, the worship has to be continued.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When an unmarried girl attains puberty, she is kept in seclusion from three to twelve days (three days being the time for subsequent periods of menstruation). After this period, she bathes and takes *punyāha* (sanctified water) from the *purōhit*. But on the fifth day she bathes, and thenceforward she is exhibited in the evenings, when *ārati* is waved, and betel-nuts, and balls of *gingili* mixed with *jaggery*, are distributed among the women assembled. When a married girl attains puberty, information

is sent to her husband's house ; his relatives visit the girl with auspicious things. On the eleventh or thirteenth day, the girl is purified and seated with her husband, when presents are given with expressions of blessings and with *akshate*. From that evening, the couple live together.

When adult marriage takes place, consummation is put off for a month. At the expiry of the month, the bride's parents give a dinner to the bridegroom's party, and to the bride herself, a set of clothes and utensils. Her lap is filled with rice, fruits, betel-leaves and nuts. She is then sent to her husband's house to live with him.

A widow can marry in the *Kudike* form, but not any of her deceased husband's brothers ; she is not even allowed to see any member of his family. *Kudike* can be done in any month ; castemen and a Brāhman *purohit* assemble ; the man who marries, generally a widower, presents her with clothes, nose-screw, and wristlets. He pays a *tera*, a portion of which goes to her former husband's house, and to her *guru*. Sometimes a *Dāsaiya* worships a *kaḷasa*, and the remarried women tie the hems of the garments of the couple. Sometimes a booth is erected and dinner given. Her children by the former husband together with his property, if any, are handed over to his family ; and those children do not mourn for her, if she dies. Her children by the remarriage do not lose any status, but she cannot take part in auspicious ceremonies. In some places, her former husband's relations pay her two rupees and take back the *tālī* tied by him, which shows their formal consent.

WIDOW
MARRIAGES.

The husband can divorce his wife on the ground of unchastity or incompatibility of temperament.

ADULTERY
AND
DIVORCE.

In these cases, castemen are the judges, their decisions being subject to the confirmation of their *guru*. A woman divorced for bad temper is not allowed to remarry, while her husband lives. Adultery with a member of the caste is condoned by a fine to him. If an unmarried woman or widow becomes pregnant by a casteman, he is asked to marry her. If he refuses to do so, she is branded and sent to the *Matha* for drudgery, as also is the woman who has committed adultery outside the caste. They lose their caste, but if they pay a fine to the *guru*, they are allowed to keep any man ; but their children form a distinct low caste, called *Dēsabhāgas*. The impurity caused by an outcast woman is got rid of by throwing off all the earthen vessels touched by her, and by taking *thīrtha* and *prasāda* from a duly consecrated *Dāsayya*, and by giving a dinner to castemen. A pregnant woman is given a treat, and is decked with flowers ; she is then sent to her parent's house for delivery and confinement.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

Soon after a child is born, a few drops of honey and cow's milk are dropped into its mouth ; then its navel cord is cut. The navel cord after birth is placed in an earthen vessel and buried in a pit in the courtyard or garden, where a cocoanut plant is afterwards planted. The baby and its mother are bathed. On the fifth day, the child is put in the cradle, on the eleventh day the pollution is over ; all members bathe, and the house is purified ; they take *punyāha* and worship water in a well. On the eleventh or twelfth day according to the custom of the village, a name is chosen in consultation with *Brāhmans*. Sometimes the name of the family god, or that of some deceased ancestor is also given, and its initial letter must correspond to the star under which the child is born. Often the child is

called by a pet name or a short one, while the real name is used at the marriage. The ceremony of giving a waist-thread to a male child is also observed. Parama and Jattu are names peculiar to them. Nicknames such as *Kāriya* (black), *Dolla* (potbellied) *Karadi* (bear) are used. Opprobrious names such as Kada, Kadi, Kuppa, Kuppi, Gudda, are given, to deceive the evil spirit. *Vaidya* and *Pujāri* are titles used by Billōru. When a child is born under an evil star, injurious to either parent, it is given away to a childless person of the caste; or passed on to an Uppara or Hōleya, and then taken back from him. At the time of adoption, the renewal of the waist-thread ceremony is observed.

In Mysore, inheritance is from father to son and according to the Hindu Law and usage; while in the West Coast, it is through the female line, and also according to Hindu Law. A boy is adopted. The renewal of the waist-thread is the only ceremony observed before adoption.

INHERITANCE
AND
ADOPTION.

Localities divided according to jurisdictions are called *kattēmanes*, each being presided over by a *yajamān* assisted by a *buddhivanta* and served by a *Kondikara* or *Kolkara*. Councils of wider area have more than one *buddhivanta*, and one *kondikar*. Each village may have a minor council to try minor offences, and is controlled by higher councils. The fines are equally divided between the *guru* and the castemen of the locality. In serious cases, a bench of tribunals may be formed from several councils, from whose decision appeal lies to the *guru*, and his decision is final. The *guru* collects his fees through the subordinate councils, the offices being hereditary. During *Dīpāvali*, the castemen go in a body singing Basavaṇṇa and Bali Chakravarti, and collecting

CASTE
COUNCIL.

alms in kind and coins. With this, the caste people are fed. This is called *Antige Pandige*.

RELIGION.

Haḷe Paikas are mostly Vaishṇavas, and they pay homage to Vaishṇava *gurus*, who are known as Tātachār of Tirupati, and Lokāchār of Sāgar. Both these are Brāhmans; and they brand their disciples. Some Sātānis are also accepted as *gurus* one of whom is said to reside in the Koppa *Matha*. They chiefly worship Venkataramaṇa of Tirupati, Hanumanta, Renukamba of Chandragutti and also other Hindu gods and goddesses. They propitiate *bhūtās*, evil spirits and snakes. Tulasi is sacred to them and is daily worshipped in every family and its leaves are swallowed in great faith. They are firm believers in magic, sorcery and witchcraft. Divars are both Vaishṇavās and Saivās. They are disciples of Śringēri, and worship Gangamma during floods and marriages. Oaths are taken by the family gods. They believe in omens, astrology, sooth-saying and witchcraft.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Dead bodies are generally burned except those of young children, of persons dying of small-pox, cholera, leprosy, and those of the unmarried persons, which are buried. The body is carried on a bier. The ashes are collected on the third or some odd day after cremation, and thrown into water. On the third and the twelfth day, the relatives visit the cremation ground, and offer food to crows. If the body is buried, then a bit of gold and grains of rice are thrown into the mouth.

Sātāni Priest erects an altar with a pit in it. A human shape is made to represent the deceased out of flour, and then burned in the pit. The remnants of this figure are distributed among the relatives as *prasāda*. Then a *kalāṣa* with drink is worshipped,

and the relatives partake of it. The period of pollution is three days for the death of a maternal uncle, paternal aunt, or of a child just born. The period is five days for the death of parents-in-law, of a married daughter, and of a child not more than three days old. In all other cases, the period extends from ten to twelve days, at the end of which a bath and *punyāham* purify the persons. Then castemen are fed, which finishes the funerals. The widowed wife removes her bangles, nose-screw, and *tāli*. During the mourning period auspicious things including caste-marks are avoided. In some places, the ceremony of leading the deceased soul to God's feet takes place one month after the death of the mourner, for which he receives from the *purohit* a consecrated unripe fig fruit and a lime, and taking two burning lights, touches the one with the other. This is known as *samyōjana* (joining), and until this is done, auspicious things are put off.

All the ancestors of a family are together propitiated in the dark fortnight of *Bhadrapāda*, with *tarpanās* and feeding, for which all members of the family come home. The deceased first wife is propitiated by the second as in others.

Their main occupations are toddy-drawing, agriculture, and labour for wages. Some saw timber, while others hunt game. There are some differences in the process of drawing toddy, between the Hale Paikās and Billavas; the former use a pot, and the latter, a gourd-shell. OCCUPATION.

They are a settled people, mostly poor. They are considered untouchables by Brāhmans. They are said to rank higher than the Hasālars in social status and Hōleyas, although they are ranked above the Hale Paikas in Census Report of 1891. These do SOCIAL STATUS.

not interdine with them. They cannot draw water from a well used by Brāhmans. Village barber and washerman do not serve them except in Sāgar. One Timma of this caste had criminal intimacy with Malammāji of the Nagar ruling family, and with her influence the status of this caste was raised in those parts. Hale Paikas cannot enter temples except that of Venkataramana of Tirupati, and of Virabhadra of Sāgar. They do not admit outsiders into their caste. Srinivāsachārya of Lokāchārya *Maṭha* says, that he allows these men to carry his things and drive his cart and work in the *maṭha*. Some in Canara are claiming to be Kshatriyas. They are now rising in the social scale, and the Brāhman priests do not lose their status by officiating as priests.

FOOD.

Rice is their staple food ; they eat flesh except that of monkey, cow, pig, jackal and rat. They drink intoxicating liquors. The high castemen who are permitted to drink, warm the liquor supplied by Hale Paikas before use. Men, women and children are fond of chewing betel leaves and nuts, which the women carry in bags, and the men wrap in the folds of their head-scarves.

APPEARANCE,
DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS.

Men wear *panches*, coats and blankets, and tie a turban or scarf on their head. Women wear a *sādi* and bodice ; some do not use the latter when the end of the *sādi* goes over a shoulder and is secured near it. Their jewels are *tāli*, nose-ring, wristlets, bangles and toe-rings, and are of small value. These are worn only during the lifetime of their husbands. Their bodies are tattooed by the Killekyatās and the Koramās, the chief patterns being a crescent on the forehead, a lotus on the back of the hands, *Jogi-jade* or *Sire-saragu* on the forearms.

The Hale Paikas are somewhat similar to the Idigas. They were formerly employed as soldiers under local chieftains. Many of them are now in household service. In Malanad districts, many hold lands and are agriculturists.

CONCLUSION.

HASĀLAR.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—ENDOGENOUS GROUPS AND EXOGENOUS CLANS—HABITATIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—BIRTH CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE—TRIBAL CONSTITUTION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Hasālars or Hasalaru are one of the forest tribes inhabiting the wild regions of the Western Malnad.* They are found in appreciable numbers in the taluks of Tirthahalli, Koppa, Nagar, Sorab, Sagar and Mudigere as also on the North-east frontier of the Mysore District. They numbered 114 at the Census of 1911. They are generally known as Hasālars; but they call themselves Agni Honnappa Matadavaru, after their supposed progenitor Honnappa and Bil Kshatriyas with reference to their custom of carrying bows and arrows whenever they go out for hunting. The word Hasālar is derived from the Canarese 'hasūla' a child, in the sense of a servant. The mother-tongue of the Hasālars is Tulu but they also speak Canarese.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

The Hasālars claim relationship with Mēdars, and call the latter their cousins. They say that Honnayya and Channayya were two brothers, and that they are the descendants of the former, and Mēdars

* *Mysore Census Report 1891, Part I., page 230.*



HASALARS WITH BOWS AND ARROWS.

of the latter. They also state that Holeyas are the Halē Makkalu of the caste, and the sons of Bhannayya. That Channayya was a brother of Honnayya is not clearly made out. If Channayya and the progenitor of the Mēdar caste are identical persons, then it must be presumed that the Hasālar are unnecessarily dragging the Mēdars to their own degraded level. Mēdars do not admit Hasālar as their cousins; nor have they acknowledged Channayya as their progenitor. To show their connection with Mēdars, the following story is recounted. In times of yore, a Hasālar made a single article out of a bamboo. Then a Mēda undid his work and prepared two articles out of the same material. A quarrel ensued, and in this quarrel the Mēdar (the younger brother, *i.e.*, belonging to the younger branch) ran away with the knife. The Hasālar pursued him and in the struggle wrested the handle from the Mēdar, while the knife was retained by the latter. Even to this day, the Mēdars do not use a knife with a handle implying their profession. And the Hasālar are not permitted to engrave the figure of a trident on the blades of their knives, which is a distinctive privilege of the Mēdars.

A distinction is observed in carrying bamboos; a Mēdar carries them on his shoulder whereas a Hasālar on his head. To disguise the fact that they are very low in the scale of castes, they say that Nād Hasālar and Mēdars interdine, and that they do not get service from the village barber and the washermen for fear of losing the purity of their caste, as the water applied by the barber to the beard may get into one's mouth. The village washermen are not allowed to render their service to the caste as they wash clothes of women in menses.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.
ENDOGA-
MOUS
GROUPS.

The following are the sub-divisions among the Hasālars :—

1. Belli Hasālaru or Bellalaru.
2. Baggālina Hasālaru or Antarugalu Hasālaru.
3. Nādu Hasālaru.
4. Male Hasālaru.
5. Kara Yelayuva Hasālaru.

Belli Hasālaru are found in the South Canara District. They are the lowest division among the Hasālars. They are not admitted into the houses of the other divisions and are said to be fed at a distance.

The Baggālina Hasālaru are so called on account of their bent legs. As they climb areca trees with cross legs, their legs have become bent by constant practice. These are employed in harvesting areca nuts, and stay with the masters.

The Nād Hasālars are so called because they live in nād or plain country. They rank highest among the Hasālars, and live by basket-weaving.

Male Hasālaru are so called because they live in hilly tracts. They are agricultural serfs attached to their masters called Vaders. They also tap toddy tree.

Kara Yeleyuva Hasālaru are so called because they remove carcasses of dead animals.

EXOGRAMOUS
CLANS.

The exogamous clans among the Hasālars are known as *balis*. They are traced through females, uncles and nephews belonging to the same *bali*. These *balis* are said to be not totemistic.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Bale <i>bali</i> . | 6. Kowadachi <i>bali</i> . |
| 2. Dandigana <i>bali</i> . | 7. Kullige <i>bali</i> . |
| 3. Gangara <i>bali</i> . | 8. Mallige <i>bali</i> . |
| 4. Hadalige <i>bali</i> . | 9. Setti <i>bali</i> . |
| 5. Kandali <i>bali</i> . | 10. Tholana <i>bali</i> . |

These people are found in the Sirsi and Honavar Taluks of the district of North Canara. They belong to two endogamous groups namely, Hasālar, and Bant Hasālar between whom there is neither inter-marriage, nor inter-dining. The following are the exogamous clans, and are totemistic.*

- | | | |
|-----------------------|----|--|
| 1. Āne <i>bali</i> | .. | Āne—elephant. |
| 2. Betta <i>bali</i> | .. | Betta—the cane. |
| 3. Kanne <i>bali</i> | .. | Kanne—a virgin. |
| 4. Shendi <i>bali</i> | .. | Shende—the toddy tree. |
| 5. Shetti <i>bali</i> | .. | Shetti—a fish. |
| 6. Shirin <i>bali</i> | .. | Shire or Shirkal—a tree (<i>Gynandropsis pentaphylla</i>). |

Two more forest tribes deserve mention in this category. They are the Hasālaru and Maleru, confined to the wild regions of the Western Mal-nāds. In the caste gradation, they are said to rank below the Hale-paikas, but above the Holeyas and Mādigas. They are a diminutive but muscular race with curly hair, and dolicho cephalic head. Their mother tongue is Tulu. They are immigrants from South Canara and lead a life little elevated above that of primordial barbarism. They live in small isolated huts, which are, however, in the case of the Hasālars, provided not only with the usual principal entrance through which one has to crawl in, but also with a half-concealed hole in the rear, a kind of portern through which the shy inmates steal out into the jungle at the merest suspicion of danger or on the approach of a stranger. They collect the wild jungle produce such as cardamoms, etc., for their customary employers, whose agrestic serfs they have virtually become. Their huts are annually or periodically shifted from place

HABITATIONS.

* *Vide Totemism*, Vol. I.

to place, usually the most inaccessible and thickest parts of the wilderness. They are said to be very partial to toddy and arrack.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Girls are married either before or after the attainment of their age. Parties belonging to one's mother's *bali* are not allowed to contract marriages, but if one of the parties belong to the father's *bali*, marriages are allowed. A man may marry his paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter. They do not marry their sister's daughter. In the account received from Tirthahalli, it is stated that one's father's *bali* is also avoided. Girls for whom husbands cannot be procured are not dedicated as Basavis. Two families may exchange daughters in marriage, but two sisters are not married to the same man at one time, but the younger is married after the death of the elder. But some say that a man cannot marry his deceased wife's sister.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

As preliminary to the marriage ceremonies, they consult an astrologer to ascertain if the horoscopes agree. When going to the astrologer's house, they carry with them date fruit, dry cocoanut halves, *pan-supāri* and nine round nuts. In addition to this kind of consultation, they obtain *prasāda* from village gods. When the date of marriage is fixed, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house and fill her lap when the bride is seated on a seat in front of a *kalasa*, after the worshipping of which, the jewels brought for her are presented to her. When they return to their village, they are accompanied by the bride's party who honour the bridegroom in a slightly different form. The marriage pandal is to be put up by a Eoleya who gets eight annas or two rupees, and a large quantity of cooked rice for his labour. He supplies the milk post and

the castemen set it up. Failure to get service from the Holeyas entails the loss of caste, and as such Hasālars are not called upon to attend *nāmadhān* marriages, nor are they allowed to supply drink to them. They are admitted into the caste after the payment of a fine of four rupees to Nāmadhāris who send a Dāsayya to purify the offenders. The carpenter supplies wooden seats, and the potter, earthen pots and marriage chaplets.

Next day, the bridegroom proceeds to the bride's house and there the *dhāre* takes place in the evening. The Jōgis attend the marriage, remaining at a distance, while a Jangam *purōhit* or a man of the caste attends to the details of the marriage.

Among the Hasālars of Tirthahalli, the first ceremony is known as *vilayada sāstra*. The bridegroom's party with five or nine male members and one or two married women go to the bride's house, and there they are made to wash their feet and to sit on a mat. These offerings are symbolical of assent to the marriage. *Pan-supāri* and milk are given to the bridegroom's party. On a subsequent day, they consult an astrologer as to the date of marriage, and he accepts all articles except *pan-supāri* brought by them. Brāhmans do not attend marriages, but a Dāsayya's services are availed of. *Dhāre* takes place always in the night and in the bride's house. The water is poured on a cocoanut placed in the hands of the couple. Then the hems of their garments are tied. The Ānavatti report gives the following marriage account:—

Marriages take place in the boy's house. A Jangam does *pūja* to the *tālī* and the bridegroom ties the *tālī* round the bride's neck. Brāhmans do not attend their marriages; and the marriages of those who have adopted the Lingāyat religion are conducted by the castemen themselves.

Their marriages in some places take place at night, and a *pūjāri* of their caste ties the *tāli*, a golden disc round the bride's neck. Being influenced by the surrounding castes, they have, of late, taken to the practice of inviting the astrologer to be present.

Girls with some bodily defect are married to boys who are similarly situated. But a boy with no defect cannot be married to such girls. The boy when he is brought from the temple to the pandal carries a dagger in his hand. After *dhāre* and *tāli* tying ceremonies, the priest, probably a Jangam, places his right foot on the heads of the couple and blesses them. The next day *nagavali* takes place. Then presents are made. *Nagavali* and *griha-pravēsa* conclude the marriage ceremonies. The price paid for the bridegroom varies from rupees twelve to forty. The amount is received by the bride's maternal uncle and handed over to the mother. The bride's father has no right to claim this amount.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

A girl attaining her age is kept in a secluded place for twelve days. She is exhibited before the womenfolk every evening. She is given a bath on the fifth, seventh and twelfth day. After bath on the twelfth day, she is purified by drinking *tīrtha* brought from the Dāsayya's house and keeping a *kalasa* with her. If the girl is already married, she lives with her husband from the twelfth day onwards. No ceremonies for the consummation of marriage are observed.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

Adultery with a woman of the caste is condoned by payment of a fine if she associates with a man of her own or one of a higher caste. In the event of her becoming pregnant, she is married to her paramour under *kūdi* to any of the castemen. They form a separate line. Divorce is allowed. A

man desiring to divorce his wife is required to notify his intention to the caste people. The separation is effected by tearing the end of her cloth, and by observing funeral ceremonies for her. A divorced woman may marry under *kūdike*.

A widow may remarry any one except her deceased husband's brothers. A bachelor cannot marry a widow, but if a bachelor is found to be on intimate terms with a widow, he is married in the first instance to an *Yakka* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*), and then to the widow. He has to pay a fine of twenty rupees. Such a marriage takes place during nights and in the future husband's house. Only remarried women or widows take part in the ceremonies. The husband gives the widow five bangles, a nose-ring, a black-coloured *sādi* and a bodice in the presence of his castemen, and the widow decks herself with them. Then the couple stand together and have the hems of their garments tied by widows. Then water in which rice has been washed is poured into the palms of the couple and they are made to drink. *Tāli* is not tied.

WIDOW
MARRIAGE.

In *Ānavatti*, the widow sits in a corner of the house with a dagger. A turban and some sundry dress are presented to the man she is to marry. The man sits in another corner and puts on the dress and accepts the dagger. He in return presents the woman with a *sādi* and bodice. In honour of the event, a dinner to the caste is given. She hides herself in a room for three days to avoid being seen by married women. In some places, the remarriage takes place in the widow's house, but after taking *pan-supāri*, the couple should not stay in that house, but they must take bed in the man's house. A *tera* of eight rupees is paid to the widow.

BIRTH
CEREMONIES.

A woman in child birth is impure for twelve days, and the cradling takes place on the fifteenth day. No other ceremonies are observed by the castemen.

INHERITANCE

They follow the Makkala Santhāna Law in the matter of succession.

TRIBAL
CONSTITU-
TION.

Heggade or Gauda presides at the caste assemblies or *kattemanēs*, and is assisted by a *buddhivanta* and a *kolkāra*. Men of the higher castes are sometimes admitted into the caste. The novice is bathed in water in which rice has been washed and his tongue burnt.

RELIGION.

Their religion consists in the worship of spirits, particularly of the spirits of their deceased ancestors. Once a year, under the shade of a juice-yielding tree, they instal stones in the names of their deceased ancestors, and offer them fruits and fowls, and burn incense and prostrate before them. If they omit to offer worship to the spirits, it is believed that somebody's health in the family will be affected. It is also stated that these spirits appear in dreams and demand food; for the death of every person, a stone is added to the family group. Gādiga is their magician who is in charge of ghosts and the spirits of the deceased. Whenever these are wanted by any family, Gādiga is applied to and he obligingly complies with their request by releasing the spirits. These spirits are sent back to him whenever they trouble the family. In addition to the worship of ghosts and spirits, they adore Vīrabhadra Manjānātha of Dharmastala, and other village gods. Cobras, either living or dead, are respected—if living, prayers are offered to them, and if dead, they are cremated with due funeral ceremonies. Guthamma, Chowdi, Panjarulli and Tulasi plants are also worshipped. They celebrate *Bhūmi pūja* on the

full moon day of Aswini and worship Basavaṇṇa on the new moon day of the same month. They offer worship to their family gods on the day of *Sankrān̥thi* and *Yugādi*.

They offer their allegiance to one or other of the following *mathas*; viz., *Keladi matha*, *Balehalli matha*, *Togarsi matha*, *Kudli matha* (Sagar taluk) and *Loka Changa* in Sagar. They say that the *gurus* of Nāmadhān Okkaligas are also preceptors. The Namadhāris levy a contribution of eight annas from each Hasālaru family. Dāsaiyyas and Jangamayyas are respected, and holy water is taken to remove the several kinds of pollution.

The dead are either burnt or buried. Those who had worn Yellammāna Dēvara *tāli* or Guthamādēvara beads during their life-time are burnt. A Holeya plays an important part in the funeral ceremonies of the Hasālars. He digs the pit for burial or supplies fuel for cremation, and piles it up on the burning ground. He leads the funeral procession by carrying fire in an earthen pot, and he is followed by Hasālars with torches in their hands. About half way from the burial ground, the dead body is lowered on the ground, and a potful of water is poured on it and the pot thrown away. In the cremation ground, the body is taken round the pyre. Afterwards it is set on the pyre with head towards the north and the legs pointing to the south. Then the Holeya sets fire to the pyre, and the castemen with their torches set fire all round it. He then gives the Hasālars a piece of wood each, and they throw it into the fire, he also contributing a piece. It is said that the Holeya is rewarded in some places with two rupees for his services. After bathing, they return home. On the eleventh day, they collect ashes into a heap, and erect a small

FUNERAL
CEREMONIES

structure over it. In the heap, a pit is scooped out and milk is poured into it. Food is offered all round the heap. Those who attend the funeral ceremonies take a shave, and bathe. Vade—a cake made of pulse, is offered to the spirit of the departed which is supposed to reside in the grave. They are further purified by taking a dose of *tīrtham* (sanctified water) from a Dāsaiyya or a Jangam and sprinkling the same throughout the house. At the end of a month, *yede* is offered to the deceased in the god's room and a stone to represent the deceased is added to the family group. The period of pollution is from nine to fourteen days. On the third, fifth, and twelfth days, and at the end of the month, *yede* is offered to the spirits of the deceased.

Every year the deceased ancestors are invoked into a *kalasa* and worshipped. Near the *kalasa* a silver *bottu* (disc) representing the deceased is kept.

A very curious obsequial custom prevails among the Hasālars. When any one among them dies, somebody's devil is credited with the mishap, and the astrologer or the magician is consulted to ascertain its identity. The latter throws cowries or rice for divination, and mentions the name of some neighbour as the owner of the devil-thief. Thereupon the dead is redeemed by the heir or relative by means of a pig, fowl or other reward. The spirit is then considered released, and is thenceforward domiciled in a pot which is supplied periodically with water and nourishment. This may be looked upon as the elementary germ of the posthumous care-taking which finds articulation under the name of *Srādh* in multifarious forms, accompanied more or less with much display in the more civilized sections of the Hindu community.*

* *The Mysore Census Report*, 1891, Part I, page 230.

Many of the Hasālars are agricultural serfs attached to land and bound to their masters who are to support them, marry them and treat them whenever they are unwell. They are most like the agrestic serfs of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore * and work as labourers in fields and gardens.

OCCUPATION.

The Hasālars rank below the Hale Paikas, but above the Mādigas and Holeyas. They live in separate quarters, and do not approach Brāhmans and Vaisyās nor do they enter Nadory or Nāmadhāri Okkaliga houses. They are not allowed to use public wells, but have separate wells to draw water from; and the village barber, and washerman do not render them any service. It is reported that the touch of Hasālars of Siralkoppa does not defile Brāhmans and Lingāyats. No one eats in their houses and they eat in Kurubās, Uppar, Jādar and Āre houses as also in the houses of the higher castemen. During marriages, in the houses of Nāmadhāri Okkaligas, the Hasālars hold torches in front of processions.

SOCIAL
STATUS.

Food.—The Hasālars do not eat beef but are very partial to toddy drinking and chewing betel leaves. It is said that they do not eat the flesh of milk-yielding creature and those that contain five nails in their legs. They do not touch carcasses of cattle, nor do they cook until they are removed from their houses. Their ordinary diet consists of rice-gruel for breakfast, ragi-gruel for dinner, cooked rice and curry for supper. They also eat mutton, fowls, wild pig and venison, and are fond of palm-spirit. Flesh is mostly eaten on New Year's day or *Yugādi* in April, on *Dasara* in October, and on *Dipāvali* in November.

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, Chap. IV, pages 87-137.

Dress and Ornaments.—The men wear the long-cloth, a country blanket across their shoulders, and a head-scarf, and the women, a robe whose skirt is worn like a pettycoat. They wear the brass hair ornament, the nose-ring, necklets, glass bangles, brass wristlets and toe-rings. A widow removes her nose-ring, toe-rings and wristlets. Women who have become Dāsyyas under a vow put on *kum-kuma*, while the other women do not do so. Bodice is not worn by their womenfolk, nor do they get themselves tattooed.

CONCLUSION. The Hasālars are a jungle tribe living in the forest of western Malnad. In point of social precedence, they are said to rank below the Hale-paikas, and above the Holeyas and the Mādigas. There are several endogamous groups, based probably on geographical distribution. They are totemistic. Their marriage customs are like those of the castes living close to them. Widow marriage is allowed amongst them. Their tribal assemblies are presided over by the headman known as *Gauda*. They are animists in religion. They are now like the agrestic serfs of Malabar, and are bound to their masters who support them for their work.



HELAVA HABITATIONS.

HELAVA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS, EXOGAMOUS CLANS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE. ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—TRIBAL ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—CONCLUSION.

HELAVA, which means a lame fellow, is the term applied to a class of beggars who are supposed to beg only from Okkaligas. They are found distributed all over the State. In the last Census, the caste was not separately treated but was included under the head of the beggar class, probably the Jogis. In Telugu, they are known as *Pichchuguntalavāllu*. They call themselves *Mallabhatlu*, possibly a corrupted form of *Malla Bhaktulu*, i.e., devotees of Siva. The term *Pichchuguntala* is variously explained. It is applied to a person who built a tank smaller than what it ought to have been, according to contract, from '*Pichcha*' of short measure and '*Gunta*' tank. The more correct derivation is from '*Pichcha*,' a corruption of Sanskrit *Bhiksha* (begging) and '*Ganta*' a bell, as Helavas when on begging tours go with a bell in hand, and as they approach the houses of their patrons, they ring it to announce their arrival and demand alms. They call themselves Basavanna Helavas. The original language of the Helavas appears to be Telugu; even those living in such Canarese parts, as Chamrajnagar in the Mysore District and Shikarpur in the Shimoga district, who speak only Canarese, acknowledge it as such. They have no special caste titles and the usual honorific suffixes,

INTRODUC-
TION.

such as *Appa*, *Ayya* and *Anna* for males and *Amma*, *Akka* and *Arva* for females are used as name-endings.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITIONS
OF THE
CASTE.

The following account is given of the origin of this caste.

An Okkaliga had seven sons of whom the youngest was a born cripple. The elder brothers became envious of him on the score of their mother showing undue partiality at their expense. They tried to get rid of him in various ways, but he was always rescued by a favourite bull reared in the family. At last, they hit on the expedient of sending him away with a share of the family property to shift for himself. This he could not do, and God Siva observing his helpless condition, brought about a reconciliation between the brothers, giving all the patrimony to them, and directing that they should give him alms whenever he went to beg sitting on his friendly bull, ringing a bell to appraise others of his calling. His descendants are known by the name of Helavas, and the practice of begging in the manner originally enjoined has stuck to them. They go about among Okkaligas reciting fanciful tales of the *gōtras* and genealogy of their patrons.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

There are two main divisions in the caste which are endogamous, namely, those who use a metal bell and those who use a wooden bell. Some of the former also recite songs relating to the origin of their patrons to the accompaniment of a bagpipe. It is said that the first division is split up again into two sub-divisions styled *Basavanna* or *Ettina Helavas* who have almost given up the practice of riding on bulls while on their begging rounds.

They generally confine their marriage relations within a circle of persons known to them, and rarely

acknowledge kinship with their castemen in distant places.

Helavas have a large number of exogamous clans named after various objects. Except in the Mysore district, no particular regard is paid to such objects in the matter of marriage prohibitions. A list of their exogamous clans is given below :—

EXOGRAMOUS
CLANS.

Arali <i>Kula</i>	..	Peepul tree.
Avarike	..	A plant.
Balagara <i>Kula</i>	..	They worship bangles in marriages.
Bandi ..	..	A cart.
Banganimma or Bangara	..	Gold.
Basari ..	..	A tree.
Belli ..	..	Silver.
Bottu ..	..	A glass disk, glued as an ornament on a woman's face.
Gaddamu	..	Beard.
Ghanta ..	..	A bell.
Hanchi ..	..	A kind of grass.
Hāvu ..	..	A snake.
Huvvu ..	..	Flower.
Jōti	..	Light. They do not extinguish it out with the mouth.
Kunahi ..	..	A coat
Marri ..	..	Banyan.
Mummadi	..	..
Nērale ..	..	Jambolana.
Oralu ..	..	Mortar.
Onike ..	..	Pestle.
Sāme ..	..	Grain.
Singarāju	..	Lion.
Sipara ..	..	A tree which they do not cut but worship.
Udurupaku	..	A plant.

ant marriages are rare. If no other girl is available, even a younger sister's daughter may be married. A man may marry two sisters, and two

CUSTOMS
AND CERE-
MONIES.

brothers may marry two sisters. In other respects, they follow the ordinary rules. Exchange of daughters is allowed.

After the settlement of the match, the boy's father goes to the bride's house and presents her with some cloths and other things. A day for marriage is fixed by a Brāhman astrologer, but the marriage itself is performed under the guidance of a *Jangama* or of the head of their caste. With regard to the ceremonies of marriage, there are some variations in different places. In Honnali in the Shimoga district, Helavas do not erect any pandal, bring no *arivēnis* and tie no *bhashinga* to the bridal pair. In the open yard outside the boy's house, he is seated on a cot, and the maternal uncle of the girl brings her there. The Sivachār priest pronounces some text, and the hands of the couple are joined, and *dhāre* water is poured thereon and the *tāli* tied by the boy. In all the other places, the ceremonies are observed more elaborately, and resemble nearly that of an Okkaliga marriage.

The marriages generally last six days and the preliminaries are begun on a Monday when the boy and the girl are rubbed with turmeric in their houses and get their nails pared. The next day, no ceremony is observed, and on Wednesday the girl and her party arrive at the boy's village. On Thursday morning, the marriage pandal is constructed on twelve pillars for which the maternal uncle brings a branch of *Kalli* or *Jāmbolana* tree and sets it up as a milk post in the usual fashion. He gets one *haṇa* (4 annas and 8 pies), 12 betel leaves 12 nuts and a cocoanut. In the evening, an earthen pot filled with water is worshipped in the names of the deceased ancestors, and a feast styled 'gods' feast' is held. Next day, which is Friday, the bridal pair get their nails pared, and bathe in *malenīru*. Then the

arivēni pots are brought. There are some peculiarities in this ceremony as observed by the Helavas. The previous evening sixteen earthen pots (large and small), eight lids, four lamp stands and two small, vessels with spouts in them will have been brought from the potter's house, and deposited in a hay-stack. They are now brought out and kept in a row outside the pandal on a bed of manure. The son-in-law and daughter (either actual or related in such degree) of the bride's father and those of the bridegroom's father and some other married men and women, to make up the number required to carry all these vessels, are made to stand in a row before them. A piece of cloth is kept on each pair to serve as a cushion to keep the vessels on. Camphor is waved round them, and the vessels are kept on the heads of these pairs. They bring them in state to the pandal, at the entrance to which a sheep is sacrificed before them. The pots are then taken into a room and installed there on a bed of manure in which are sown nine kinds of staple grain. One pair of vessels is kept on the marriage dais near the milk post. Lights are kept burning near all these pots.

Then the bridegroom with his best man comes in state from the temple holding a dagger in his hand, as in other castes. The bride is brought by the maternal uncle, and a screen is held between the couple. The headman of the caste puts rice on their heads. The screen is taken away and the *tāli* tying takes place. Then the bridal pair sit facing each other near the milk-post with the two *arivēni* pots between them, and handfuls of rice are exchanged between each other a number of times. After this, the couple sit side by side with the fringes of their garments knotted together. *Kankanas* are tied to their wrists and five pairs of married persons pour *sāse*, that is, handfuls of rice

on their limbs and heads. They then go round the milk-post, see the Arundhati star, and bow before the *arivēni* pots placed in a room where they partake of food out of the same dish (*burva*). The tying of the *tāli* is the essential and binding portion of the ceremony. Next day takes place the *nāgavali* ceremony which is exactly the same as among Okkaligas, and also the *simhāsana* worship. The bride-price is different in different localities, and varies between nine and twenty-four rupees. In some places, as soon as *dhāre* takes place, the bride's mother is presented with a *hana*, and it is styled suckling money. The marriage expenses amount, on an average, to one hundred rupees, the major portion of which is borne by the bridegroom's party.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered unclean for four days. She sits by herself in a shed of green leaves built outside the house. If the girl has been already married, a *kalasa* is kept at a little distance from the shed, and *sāse* is put to it and the girl. On the fifth day, she bathes and the information of the event is sent to the husband by a washerman, who gets presents from him. Articles for performing one day's *osage* ceremony are received from the husband's house, and the girl is exhibited in the presence of married women and rubbed with turmeric paste. For girls who attain puberty before marriage, the *osage* ceremony is performed for two or three days just before the marriage. For such girls, consummation is put off for three months after the marriage.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widow marriage is allowed, and is commonly practised. A widow may not marry her late husband's brother nor, in some places, any one belonging to his exogamous sect. A bachelor may not marry a widow, unless he is first married to an *Ekka*

plant. Married women do not take part in the ceremonial, either remarried women or widows only being admitted. The ceremony takes place at night in the house of the widow's father. The husband presents the bride with a new *sāre*, a *ravike*, silver bangles and a nose screw which she puts on. The couple stand in the assembly of their castemen on a black *kumbly*. The headman gives permission and the husband ties the *tāli*. Then a dinner is given to the castemen. Two dishes for eating are kept at which the husband and wife sit, and exchange three handfuls of food. This completes the marriage. The bride-price is half of that for regular marriage. The widow labours under the usual disabilities, but her issue do not form a separate line. She has no right to her previous husband's property.

Customs connected with adultery and divorce are the same as those in other castes. Formerly, Helavas used to dedicate girls as Basavis, but the practice is gradually going out of use in the whole State except in the Shimoga district, where it is still practised. The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes who allow the practice, and the Basavi girl remains in her father's family and inherits there equally with her brothers. Helavas, says Enthoven, habitually prostitute their unmarried women. When a girl is grown up, she is made to undergo all forms of a marriage without a bridegroom, and is dedicated to Māruti in whose name she carries on prostitution. She does not lose caste on this account.*

ADULTERY
AND DIVORCE

When a woman shows signs of labour pains, they make a vow to their family God for safe delivery

POST-NATAL
CEREMONIES.

* R. E. Enthoven: *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II, page 74.

and set apart a small coin as an offering. The woman is then removed to a shed close by the house, where she is kept with the child for seven days. A midwife who is generally of the same caste keeps company with her at night. The navel cord of the child is buried in a pit dug in the shed. On the seventh day, the midwife lays turmeric paste, *Kunkuma* and sandal paste on the spot, burns incense and breaks a cocoanut. That evening, a lamp is kept on the spot to light the place for the God of Destiny who comes to inscribe the child's fate on its forehead. The child's father should not see this light, lest some misfortune might overtake the mother or the child. Next day, the woman and the child are purified by a bath, and in the evening the child is rocked in a cradle and given a name.

TRIBAL
ORGANI-
ZATION.

They have *kattemanes* presided over by the caste *yajaman*. His office is hereditary, and he has under him, a man known as *Bandari* or *Kōlikāra* whose duty it is to collect the castemen whenever necessary. The jurisdiction of the head of the caste extends as in other castes to punishing the guilty with fine and in extreme cases, excommunication.

RELIGION.

Helavas are Saivas, and their chief object of worship is a bull. A few of them have become Vaishnavas and worship Venkataramana. Their *gurus* are Lingāyats and their place of pilgrimage is Parvata *matha*. Their family goddess is Yellamma whom they also style Durgamma and Kollāpūramma. It is said that they formerly wore *Linga*, but had to give it up on account of their taking to meat-eating and drinking. They believe in omens, and whenever any necessity arises they consult a sooth-sayer.

Hēlavas bury their dead, but in some places, the bodies of Dēvaraguddās and Goravās, two orders of persons dedicated to the service of God, are burnt. The bodies of married persons are carried in a *vimāna* or a framework festooned with mango leaves and flowers and buried in a sitting posture, the head being tied up to a peg driven into a side in the grave. The bodies of unmarried persons are carried on stretchers and interred in a lying posture. They observe the third and the eleventh day, ceremonies as in other castes. On the third day, the widow takes off her bangles. On the eleventh day after worshipping a *kalasa* at home in the usual fashion, they wash the feet of a bull, and rub it with turmeric and *kunkuma*. They caparison it with bells and tassels, and take it to a watercourse with some prepared food. They worship Ganga, offer *yede* to the Ganga and Basava, and wave a camphor light. Then the food is mixed with water and all return home driving the bull in front of them. After return, they break a cocoanut, burn incense and wave *ārati* before the bull. Then they remove all the ornaments from the bull and set it free.

They observe no annual *śrāddhas*; but on *Mahā-laya Amāvāsyā*, *Yugādi* and *Mahānavamī*, they set up an earthen vessel filled with water, and offering it new clothes and eatables worship it in the name of the deceased ancestors. They believe that once a year at least the deceased members of the family visit them either in dreams or in some other way and have to be propitiated.

Begging is regarded as their characteristic pro- OCCUPATION.
fession and a Helava, though wealthy, has to go abegging to some houses of the Okkaliga caste at least once a year. They profess to know the family history of their patrons, and can repeat the names

of all the *Kulas* of Okkaligas. They are, in fact, custodians of village histories. It is said that they arrive at the villages, mounted on a bullock, and with their legs concealed by woollen blankets, and go from house to house, for begging, giving out the family history. Formerly, they used to beg only from Okkaligas but they are not so particular now. Many of them have taken to agriculture. There is nothing peculiar in their dress. Whenever a Helava goes for begging, he invariably carries a bell and a begging pouch.

**SOCIAL
STATES.**

Helavas are considered as the children of Okkaligas and in former times they carried the corpses of the Okkaligas and ate food in their houses on the third day after death within the period of pollution. It is said that Holeyas are the *Hale-makkalu* of the Helavas. They are a settled people, but during their begging rounds, they wander from place to place in a defined area. They are not considered as outcastes; the washerman and the barber give them their services without demur, and they may live within the villages and draw water from the common well. They are meat-eaters and drink toddy and other intoxicating liquors. They eat in the houses of Okkaligas, Kurubas, Kumbaras and Idigas, but not in those of Kōmatis, Nagartas or Oil-pressers known as Jyotinagaradavaru. They admit outsiders into their caste whether males or females after ceremony of *prāyascitta*. Such conversions are, however, extremely rare.

CONCLUSION.

The Helavas are a caste of beggars found all over Mysore. They are totemistic, and have a large number of exogamous clans. Their marriage customs are similar to those of the corresponding castes. They have their regular organization with the

headman and his assistant. They are Saivas, and worship bulls. Some are Vaishṇavas as well. They are considered as the children of the Okkaligas with begging as their profession. Many have now taken to agriculture.

HOLEYA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
SLAVERY—POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION—HABITATION—
INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE PROHI-
BITIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY
CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—
DEDICATION OF GIRLS (BASAVIS)—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—
INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—TRIBAL ORGANIZATION—RELI-
GION—RELIGIOUS ORDER—PRIESTS—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—
ADMISSION OF OTHER CASTES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—
FOOD—DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUC-
TION.

THE Holeyas are the agrestic serfs. Though they are found all over the State of Mysore, yet the districts of Bangalore, Mysore, Kadur and Hassan show larger figures than other districts. They are an outcaste people, Pariah and Māla being their appellation in Tamil and Telugu. The term Holeyā may be derived from 'hola' a field, Holeyā meaning thence a field-labourer. But it more probably comes from 'hole' which means pollution, since they are regarded as of unclean habits in eating and drinking. The men of this caste are sometimes styled by their official designation as *Chalavādi* who is a convener of the meeting of the eighteen *phana* party carrying a brass cup and chain as insignia; and *Kulavādi* is one who calls the villagers before the patel and the revenue officers generally. As, in most places, these offices are held by them, the names are used to denote the caste generally.

The members use among themselves the term *Balagai*, as they are classed, among the eighteen castes that form the right hand section of the

* Holeyas are now called Ādikarnatakās.



A HOLEYA MALE GROUP.

community in Dravida countries, as against the nine castes of the left hand division. This being a common appellation to them and other higher castes, they naturally use it as being the most respectable designation to apply to themselves. *Panchama*, *Anthyāja* and *Chandāla* are the terms the Brāhmans employ in naming them, and denote a mild form of contempt. *Panchama*, a Sanskrit term, means 'of the fifth caste,' the first four castes being—Brahma, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sūdra. *Anthyāja* means 'born at the end' of the social scale. *Chandāla* means one who indulges in cruel deeds, the term being applied by Manu to one born to a Sūdra on a Brāhman woman. Among other Sanskrit terms applied to these, may be mentioned 'Mātanga,' descendant of Matangi.

There are no recognized titles for this caste, the members addressing each other by their bare names. In Mysore, they generally speak Kannada ; Tamil, Telugu and Mahratti being used by small sections of them according to the place of their origin.

The origin of this caste is, according to one legend, traced to one Honnayya, whose shrines are still honoured with offerings of fruits, as given below. During a procession, when this chief was riding on an elephant, the motley crowd that went with him entered a temple which was on their way. But the elephant could not enter the low portals of the building, and Honnayya and his immediate followers were left outside. Those that went in were the four recognized castes and Honnayya's men thereafter altogether lost the privilege of going inside the temples.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION.

A second tradition gives the origin of the term *Balagai*. Śiva and Pārvati employed a servant to tend their cow. This man, one day, found that the

goddess had negligently left the butter, that had been churned out of the milk, within his reach, and discovered its exquisite taste. So, in his foolish greed, he thought that there was an unlimited quantity of it in the animal's stomach, and killed it on the spot. He was condemned by Īsvara to eat the carcass as a punishment; but the fellow found it too much to manage. So he implored the god who created two others Mādigas and Bēdars, to go to his help. Siva after this, went back into his temple; the Bēda at once followed his creator; but the other two preferred their carrion, and remained outside devouring it. They were condemned to be outcastes, and became left hand and right hand according to the position they had taken in relation to the temple door.

Another story is told to show that they have some sort of relationship with Agasās or washermen. It is said that a Holeyā boy fled at the sight of Visvakarma (a rival creator to the original Brahma), and took refuge under the washing tub of an Agasā. The latter to justify his giving the boy an asylum against the pursuit of such a mighty personage claimed the boy as his son, and ate his rice out of the same plate with him. It is difficult to make out the significance of this silly story. But it may be noted that though Agasās do not condescend to act as torch-bearers during the marriages of Holeyas, the latter borrow a torch from Agasās, appealing to them for help, "since Holeyas are the children of Agasās."

They even claim some sort of relationship with Brāhmans inasmuch as Arundhati, wife of Vasiṣṭha—the paragon of chaste women for all time—is said to have been a damsel of *Chandāla* origin. The Holeyas sing songs in praise of this woman, when they sacrifice buffaloes before their goddess Māri.

Whatever the inner meanings of these legends may be, there is no evidence that they have any other origin than the whimsical fancy of some persons, who were either more partial or wished to be more generous than usual to a caste which was largely treated as low in the social scale. Little more weight, it is to be feared, can be ascribed to the observations* about the original status of a Kulavādi, who is erroneously assumed to be always a Holeyā in some authorized publications such as the *Mysore Gazetteer*. It is sought to be proved that the Holeyā was the owner of the soil and the founder of villages. But the evidence adduced is shadowy. It is nowhere admitted that the Holeyā was the *de jure* owner of a village; and elaborate rules are given in Manu Smṛiti, and other recognized books, to decide boundary disputes in which the Kulavādi's claim to settle the matter by his admission or other testimony is not even mentioned. Nor is the conclusion legitimate from the fact that in many places, a Kulavādi gets a small coin (called *nela hāga* or

* "In the rights and privileges which yet cling to him, we get glimpses of his former estate, and find proofs that the Holeyās were the first to establish villages. All the castes unhesitatingly admit that the Kulavādi is (*de jure*) the owner of the village. If there is a dispute as to the village boundaries, the Kulavādi is the only one competent to take an oath as to how the boundary ought to run, and to this day, a village boundary dispute is often decided by this one fact if the Kulavādīs agree, the other inhabitants of the village can say no more." "But one of this despised order is generally the priest to the village goddess, and as such, on that annual day when all hasten to pay their offerings at a shrine, Holeyā takes precedence of the twice-born Brāhman." (*Ibid.* page 215).

"But what seems to prove strongly, that the Holeyā was the first to take possession of the soil, is that the Kulavādi receives, and is entitled to receive from the friends of any person who dies in the village a certain burial fee or as it is forcibly put—they buy from him the ground for the dead." This fee is still called in Canarese *nela hāga*. In Manjarabad, the ancient Balam, the Kulavādi does not receive this fee from those raiyats who are related to the headman. Here the Kulavādi occupies a higher position; he has in fact been adopted into the Patel's family, for, on a death occurring in such family, the Kulavādi goes into mourning by shaving his head. He always receives from the friends, the cloths the deceased wore and a brass basin." (*Ibid.* page 216)."

Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, page 216,

soil money) for the soil under which a dead body is interred. It may equally well be held that the Holeyas, who has no abode within the main village, was considered as having some sort of title to all the land outside its limits. The right of *pūja* belonging to the village goddess, residing generally in this caste, goes only to show that this worship was not part of the true Aryan practices, and that the Hindu, with his well-known toleration, adapted himself to surrounding circumstances, by recognizing the primitive faiths and religious practices to some extent. This right of worship can give no precedence to a Holeyas over a Brahman, and is allowed to continue undisturbed, especially as no one of a higher caste would consent to kill such animals as are sacrificed to the village deity. The Kulavādi shaving his head on the occasion of a death in a *gauda's* family is more a sign that he was considered a helot than a member belonging to the family.

Thus, the Gangadikāra Holeyas call themselves the *Haḷe-makkalu* (house servants or slaves) of Gangadikāra Okkaligas. These *Haḷe-makkalu* have to render certain menial services to the Okkaligas, such as carrying the sandals of the bridegroom, conveying messages from place to place, and in funeral ceremonies, carrying fire in front of the dead body to the burial ground.

Morasu Holeyas similarly consider themselves the *Haḷe-makkalu* of the Morasu and Reddi Okkaligas. They observe the festivals of *Bandi-dēvaru* and *Hosa-dēvaru* that are observed by the Morasu and Reddi Okkaligas. They have also to render special services, such as carrying the box containing the presents made by the bridegroom to the bride on a marriage, carrying the dead body of their masters on one side and holding a torch in the processions of idols of village deities, at least in front of their master who

carries other lights. In return, these *Halemakkalus* are fed by their superiors in the annual festivals, and get occasional presents of a bull, calf or cloth or a vessel. They eat the food given to the departed spirit of a dead man on the third day after death.

Slavery as an old institution in Mysore, was precisely in the same form as it existed on the West Coast, namely, Malabar, Cuchin, Travancore and South Canara. The account given below may be found to be interesting. SLAVERY

Slavery, chiefly, however, in the agrarian form, existed from time immemorial, and to a great extent, in the Malnad. It was unknown in Kadur, Tarikere, Chennagiri, Harihar and Honnali, and was rare in the intermediate taluks. The population return showed, in the five Malnad taluks, 4,169 houses, containing 9,973 persons of the Holeyar caste; and it is computed that the whole of these were properly slaves, though many had now escaped from the authority of their original masters. Slaves were of two descriptions—*honn-al* (from *hon*, gold) and *mann-al* (from *man*, earth), of which the former might, and the latter might not, be transferred from the soil to which they were attached. The terms by which slaves were designated, did not in its original signification, imply any notion of servitude. It merely meant a person (man or woman), and was applied equally to hired servants or daily labourers. Certain limits termed, *mettu*, steps, were fixed, which the slaves must not pass without permission, on pain of being considered a fugitive. When a slave ran away, his master searched for him, and if successful, applied to the Amildar of the taluk to compel his return. The Native Government professed to comply with such applicants, but the interference of the Amildars was now prohibited. Masters had been considered to possess the right of punishing idle or refractory slaves by beating; no express order was given on this point, but the power is supposed to have been abrogated by the police regulations. The Malnad landholders frequently complained of this alleged departure from the custom of the country, but it is clear that slavery had been generally losing the support of the Government from the beginning of the present century, and it was generally found, on inquiry, that slaves whose return, it was requested, should be compelled, had left their masters fifteen or twenty years.

The usual maintenance (*paddi*) of the slaves in the Malnad was one *kolaga* or six *siddi of batta* or rice in the husk,

equivalent to a *pakka seer* of rice, for each man, and five *siddis* for each woman, per diem, which was doubled on the new and full moons and sometimes at the feasts. An annual supply of clothes consisting of one *kambli* valued at half a rupee, to each man and woman; one *dhoti* or waistband worth half a fanam, one *panche* or coarse cloth five cubits long and costing a rupee for each woman. On the occasion of marriage, the master of the man had to purchase a wife for him, usually for three or four B. pagodas, from her owner; unless, as it was most commonly done, he could not give the daughter of one of his slaves in return. This practice was called *sattai* or barter. The expenses of the marriage were borne by the master of the husband and commonly amounted to six rupees and three *khandaga* or 150 seers of rice; the children belonged to the owner of the man. When a slave, with the permission of his master, worked for another person, that person must supply him with food and clothing as above stated, and must besides pay a small annual sum, generally half a B. pagoda to the master—this was called *hegal bādige*, shoulder hire. The ordinary price of a pair of slaves, man and woman, called *gudi saraku* (*gudi*, a Holeyar's habitation; *saraku*, goods or stocks of any kind) was 12 B. pagodas, and with a pair of bullocks they were supposed to be sufficient for cultivating five *khandaga* of land.*

These slaves, though degraded, are much better off (says Mr. Stokes) than those in Malabar; they are in general stout and healthy in appearance, and show no signs of being either over-worked or under-fed.

They are rapidly approximating to the state of the better class of agricultural labourers. The Ikkeri princes possessed a great many slaves, acquired by conquest or otherwise, some of whom were employed in the palace garden at Nagar, and others in keeping in repair the forts of Lakvalli, Kavaledroog, etc. They were all retained by Haidar and his successors until the end of 1834. The establishment was a source of great abuse, but the slaves considered its abolition rather in the light of dismissal than emancipation. Besides the Holeyar, there are a few slaves born of women who have lost caste, or who, in infancy, have been sold by their parents.††‡

* L. Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, page.

† *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I. pages 90-95.

‡ *Anthropology of the Syrian Christian*, pages 208-219.

§ *Manual of South Canara*, page 210.

At the last Census, the Holeyas numbered, 650,453; 330,685 being males, and 319,768, females. There is an increase of nearly 40,000 as compared with the Census of 1911, and show an increase of 11.9 percent. They are in comparatively small numbers in the Shimoga and Chitaldrug districts.

POPULATION
AND DIS-
TRIBUTION.

The following is the distribution of the Holeyas according to districts, including the cities of Bangalore and Mysore, as also of the Kolar Gold Fields and the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore:—

1.	Bangalore City ..	..	..	4,851
2.	Bangalore District ..	..	..	81,179
3.	Kolar Gold Fields ..	..	..	35,506
4.	Kolar District ..	..	..	66,905
5.	Tumkur „ ..	..	..	38,207
6.	Mysore „ ..	..	..	195,362
7.	Mysore City ..	..	..	6,004
8.	Chitaldrug District ..	..	..	35,359
9.	Hassan „ ..	..	..	89,853
10.	Kadur „ ..	..	..	50,713
11.	Shimoga „ ..	..	..	24,131
12.	Civil and Military Station, Bangalore			22,383

Taluks having a population of 10,000 and more are the following:—

1.	Channapatna ..	..	..	11,896
2.	Anekal ..	..	..	12,546
3.	Kolar Taluk ..	..	..	12,512
4.	Malur „ ..	..	..	11,539
5.	Bowringpet Taluk ..	..	..	10,859
6.	Hunsur „ ..	..	..	15,493
7.	Heggaddevankote ..	..	..	12,977
8.	T.-Narsipur ..	..	..	17,537
9.	Krishnarajpet Taluk ..	..	..	12,191
10.	Malavalli Taluk ..	..	..	20,631
11.	Chamarajnagar Taluk ..	..	..	20,915
12.	Nanjangud Taluk ..	..	..	21,660
13.	Mandya Taluk ..	..	..	15,884
14.	Hassan Taluk ..	..	..	12,665
15.	Belur Taluk ..	..	..	19,507
16.	Manjarabad Taluk ..	..	..	14,506

HABITATIONS.

The Holeyas are a settled people, and usually live in groups of huts huddled close together, which are generally low and built of mud. They are not provided with windows and have ventilators open to the sky. Their street is known as *Holageri** which is commonly outside the main village. Near Mysore and other important centres, they are building fine tiled houses, and are exhibiting other signs of growing prosperity. Though the entry of others into the caste is not encouraged, they admit such of those of the higher castes as are put out on account of their contact with themselves, generally in the matter of sexual relations.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.
ENDOGAMOUS
GROUPS.

The caste has a number of sub-divisions, the principle of which is based on language, profession, or place of residence, or two or more combined; and these groups are all said to be endogamous.

Kannada-speaking divisions are Gangadikāra, Morasu, Dāsa, 'Magga' men (weaver) and 'Hagga' men (rope-makers).

The Telugu groups are Telugu Pākināti, Chintālu, Gundlujagati, Rampalu, Pasupa, Sere, and Sāvu.

Konga, Dyaval, Māstikaru, Gogla, and Kudure are of Tamil origin.

A small number of Mahratti-speaking Holeyas are found scattered over the country on the borders of the Bombay Presidency.†

They have a number of exogamous clans, all of which descend in the male line only; and the members of each clan regard themselves as belonging to one family. The names of these clans, or *Kulās*, will be found below:—

Attikula	..	..	Fig tree.
Anekula	..	..	Elephant or plant of that name.

* In Kannada, *Keri* means a street or quarters, and *Holageri* (*Holeya* and *keri*) means Holeyas quarters.

† *Mysore Census Report* 1901, page 524.



A HOLEYA GERE OR A HOLEYA VILLAGE.

Ararigaru ..	..	Beans.
Ale ..	..	A tree.
Agani ..	..	Bolt.
Ankeyavaru ..	..	....
Ambarakula ..	..	An elephant howdah.
Bhumi ..	..	Earth.
Belli ..	..	Silver.
Baligaru ..	..	Plantain.
Chatrikula ..	..	Umbrella.
Chandrakula ..	..	Moon.
Chinnadakula ..	..	Gold.
Chambula ..	..	....
Chintalu ..	..	Tamarind. (They do not cut the tree but do not scruple to use the fruit).
Chavana ..	..	....
Chella ..	..	Cleaning nuts.
Darollu ..	..	....
Gollate ..	..	....
Gango-galu ..	..	....
Gudikula ..	..	Temple.
Ganigarakula ..	..	Oil-mill.
Huvvina ..	..	Flowers.
Hutta ..	..	Ant-hill.
Holuru ..	..	....
Halukula ..	..	Milk.
Halattakula ..	..	....
Hasube ..	..	Bag.
Hare ..	..	Crowbar.
Hanakula ..	..	....
Hagalukula ..	..	Bitter gourd.
Jintra ..	..	....
Jenukula ..	..	Honey.
Kembarekula ..	..	....
Kavanekula ..	..	Sling.
Karrakula ..	..	Plant.
Kargadakula ..	..	Vessel.
Kannanthradakula ..	..	....
Kaneerkula ..	..	A flower.
Kurubarakula ..	..	Shepherd.
Katigaru ..	..	....
Kannegaruru ..	..	A herb.
Kani ..	..	....
Kalu ..	..	Leg.

Kapu	..	..	An ornament.
Konga	..	..	....
Kastury	..	..	Musk.
Kuppagiri	..	..	....
Kogilu	..	..	Cuckoo.
Lagamikula		..	....
Mugaligaru	..	..	A kind of tree.
Maddalati	..	..	....
Malikula	..	..	Garland.
Mandatora	..	..	....
Mallora	..	..	Jasmine.
Molakula	..	..	Rabbit.
Matti	..	..	A timber tree.
Madya	..	..	....
Mukkara	..	..	Nose-ring.
Nerali	..	..	A tree.
Naggaligaru	..	..	A thorny plant
Olorakula	..	..	....
Pale	..	..	....
Poomaligaru		..	Flower garland
Panne	..	..	A tree.
Rampada	..	..	Saw.
Roppada	..	..	Sheep fold.
Sidlukula	..	..	Lightning.
Suryakula	..	..	Sun.
Suttagadu	..	..	Burial ground.
Settikula	..	..	Headman.
Tenekula	..	..	Ears of corn.
Togarigaru	..	..	Pigeon pea.
Tanga	..	..	Gold.
Untachanigalu		..	Bengal gram.
Veelyadakula		..	Betel leaf.

If the name denotes an edible plant, grain, etc., those bearing it refrain from eating the article. If it is a tree, they show their reverence by not burning or felling it. It is even reported that when a man of the Naggaligāru division is pierced by a thorn of the plant, he is prohibited from extracting the thorn himself. One, not of that division, should help him out of the difficulty.

Those who perform the worship of their gods are known as Dēvaraguddas, a name which is also applied

to *pujāris* of some other castes ; and it is said that their relation to others of the caste is hypergamous, i.e., males may marry women who are not of this sub-division, but their women cannot marry any one of a lower rank. It is, however, doubtful if this distinction is rigidly observed.

The endogamous groups have been already named. Within these limits, and outside the exogamous *kulas* (clans), the rules of prohibited and permissible degrees are the daughters of such relationship. As a rule, an elder sister's daughter or a paternal aunt's or a maternal uncle's daughter, is taken in marriage. A younger sister's daughter is not taken ordinarily, but if no wife can be found elsewhere, the objection is overruled. Two sisters may be taken in marriage simultaneously by one or two brothers, but the former custom is not recommended, as it is believed that one of the sisters so married fares badly. It is allowable among them to exchange daughters, any man marrying his son to the other's daughter. There are no prohibitions on intermarriage based upon social status, local position, and change or differences of occupation. They may intermarry even if the parties are of different religious sects, such as Dāsās and Saivās. The wife as a matter of course, joins the husband's sect. A woman that dedicates herself as Devaraguddi, with the ceremonies of the tying of wrist band and the worship of *kalasa*, may not marry.

MARRIAGE
PROHIBI-
TIONS.

Holeyā girls are married either before or after puberty. If a girl remains unmarried from the absence of suitors, she is married to tree Honge (*Bargamia glabra*), Bevu (*neem* or *margosa*), Yekke (*Calotropis gigantea*) and dedicated to shrines, like those of Billigiri Ranga or Siddappāji. She may then live with any man of the caste without loss of status. She is known as *kulamaga*, son of the family, and inherits the rights

and privileges of a son, and discharges the son's duties, by performing the funeral ceremonies and attending to obsequies in respect of her parents. Her children belong to her father and are legitimate.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Marriage of infant girls is, as usual considered a mark of superiority, and it is claimed that they have always been partial to it in this caste. Sexual license before marriage is connived at or tolerated to some extent. If a young woman remains unmarried in her father's house, she may entertain casual visitors, and, if she forms a permanent connection thus, the man may tie a *tāli* to her. The bride-price for such a marriage is twelve rupees. The issue of such union is legitimate, even if it be born before the tying of the *tāli*.

In some places, an unmarried girl may with impunity live with any man of the same caste, but if she becomes pregnant she has not only to marry her lover unless he rejects her, but has also to pay to the caste a fine of eight rupees. The head of the caste has power to levy a fine from the man also, who, if he declines to marry the woman, will be ostracized by the community. The woman is then at liberty to take another man, and the man who has betrayed her has to compensate her by paying twenty-five rupees and giving her a set of clothes. If the woman fails to point out her lover, she will be put out of caste. In all such cases, the head of the caste is anxious to see that all children born in the caste are legitimised, and their parentage established. The habit of capturing wives from other tribes does not prevail, but they have traditions regarding such a practice. Among Morasu and Gangadikār sections, the woman loses her caste, if she becomes pregnant before marriage. The odium remains even after her death; and to ensure a proper burial of her



A HOLEYA FEMALE GROUP.

body, such a woman sets apart a sum of money, about twelve rupees, during her life. A man, who elopes with a woman, may marry her after paying five rupees to the caste and a bride-price of fifty rupees to her parents or brothers.

Monogamous marriage is the rule, as the men are hardly able to maintain more than one wife. Polygamy is, however, recognized, but polyandry is unknown. Some days before the marriage, there is an agreement of giving and taking between the parties, symbolised by exchange of betel-leaves and arecanuts. This ceremony, which, however, is not essential, is known as *vilyasāstra* (betel ceremony).

A marriage pandal is erected on 12 posts, of which one in the middle, known as *hālu kamba* or milk post, has been cut by the maternal uncle of the boy. A branch of the Jambolina tree is tied to this post. In the afternoon of the day, they keep apart new clothes, dedicated in the name of the deceased ancestors; in the evening, the bride's party, with the bride, arrive at the village of the bridegroom. They are met at a small distance from the marriage house, and are led to the bridegroom's house. Then the two parties proceed to a river or a well, escorted by a band of musicians. Each party carries four new earthen pots containing a few grains of rice and dhal, betel-leaves and nuts. The pots are washed and decorated with the flowers of the areca-nut tree, and *pūja* is offered to them. Each party brings one set of pots to the house, and deposits them apart, in a clean place, on three sorts of grains, brought from neighbouring houses and spread on the ground. This is known as the bringing of the god into the house. On the second day, early in the morning, the bridegroom gets his head shaved and his nails pared by his maternal uncle. Likewise the bride's nails are also pared by her maternal uncle.

Then follows the ceremony, known as *malanīr sāstra*, which the bride and the bridegroom separately undergo. A wooden plank belonging to a hand-loom, is placed in front of the house, within a square formed by the setting of four new earthen vessels at each corner and cotton thread passing round them thirteen times. The *yajaman* of the caste, the *buddhivanta* or the *pradhāni* and three married women, in succession, pour water over the bride or the bridegroom. The bridegroom, after dressing himself, goes out and stands under a tree.

The *tāli*, silver bangles, and silver toe-rings and other presents to the bride, if any, are carried by the parties going in procession with the bridegroom, who holds in his hand a dagger wrapped in a red kerchief. After reaching the marriage *pandal*, the bride and bridegroom stand facing each other. Round the wrist of each is tied a *kankana*, made of white and black woollen threads twisted together, to which are attached an iron or copper ring and a piece of turmeric and sometimes soap-nut. The bride and bridegroom present each other with a flower garland. A *tāli* is tied to the neck of the bride by her maternal uncle. Next, married women pour milk on the joined hands of the couple, who are then seated side by side, with the hems of their garments tied together. Betel-leaves and nuts are distributed among the assembled. The couple now rise, go round the milk post thrice, and retire into the portion of the house where the earthen vessels have been set up. That evening, the bride and the bridegroom, followed by a procession, bring from an ant-hill some quantity of earth out of which thirteen balls are made, to be placed in front of the posts of the *pandal*. This ceremony is followed by a street procession of the bridal pair, who after their return, undergo another *dhāre* (pouring of milk) similar

to the one done in the morning. This being over, they retire to eat the *buva* dinner, at which, five dishes containing cooked rice, are set down for the bride, the bridegroom, the *yajamān*, the *pradhāni* and the rest of the invited caste people. The bride takes her food with her mother-in-law and the bridegroom with his father-in-law, while the others, accepting their dishes, go out without observing the bride and bridegroom eating. All the members of the caste are then regaled with a sumptuous dinner and libations of toddy. The next day, after a sumptuous dinner, a *simhasaṇa* is put up with blankets, on which are placed betel-leaves and nuts for distribution to the various functionaries of the caste. The milk post is pulled down after some fowls are killed before it and offered, and the pandal is then removed.

According to one account which seems to have been borrowed less from outside sources, five men from the bridegroom go to the bride's house and tie the *tālī* round the neck of the bride, and return to the village, where they keep the bridegroom alone in a room, outside the house known as *Dēvaramane*. The bride comes on horseback, alights near the *Dēvaramane* and goes into the room occupied by the bridegroom. A cloth separates the couple and garlands are mutually exchanged. The men and women throw rice on the heads of the bride and the bridegroom.

A section of the Holeyas in Agara, Yelandur Taluk, do not erect the marriage pandal, and all their marriages are contracted in a temple of *Nālkumane-amma*, i.e., she of the four houses. Their own priest, generally known as *Tirkula Dāsaiyya*, is called in to conduct the marriage ceremony. The bride-price (*tera*) is stated to be Rs. 12-13-4 at Channapatna, Rs. 25 at Koppa and Rs. 15 at

Nanjangud. A widower marrying a virgin bride, has to pay an additional amount varying between Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 6, styled *sauti-haṇa* (money for the co-wife, i.e., his deceased wife). Two-thirds of the marriage-expenses are borne by the bridegroom. It may be noted that half the *tera* amount is to be advanced at the ceremony of *vilyada sāstra*.

The following marriage customs are found to prevail among some of the Holeyas of Mysore :—

“The marriage of the Holeya of Mysore is nothing but a feast at which the bridegroom ties the *bottu* (marriage badge) round the neck of the bride. The wife cannot be divorced except for adultery. Widows are prohibited from remarrying, but the cast widows wink at a widow's living with another man.*

The following marriage customs are found to prevail among the Holeyas of South Canara :—

“Though the marriage tie is all loose as is usual among the low and depressed castes of Southern India, their marriage ceremony is somewhat elaborate. The bridegroom's party goes to the bride's house on a fixed day with rice, betel leaf, and a few arecanuts, and waits the whole night outside the bride's hut, the bridegroom being seated on mat specially made by the bride. On the next morning, the bride is made to sit opposite the bridegroom, with a winnowing fan between them filled up with betel leaf, etc. Meanwhile the men and women throw rice over the heads of the couple. The bride then accompanies the bridegroom to his hut carrying the mat with her. On the last day, the couple take the mat to a river or tank, where fish may be found, dip the mat into the water, and catch some fish, which they let go after kissing them. A grand feast completes the marriage. Divorce is very easy, and widow marriage is freely practised.”†

PUBERTY.

When a girl is married, she is not sent to her husband's house immediately after the marriage, but continues to live after attainment of puberty with

* *Census Report 1901*, page .

† *Manual of South Canara District*, page 174.

her parents until the marriage is consummated. When a girl comes of age, she is kept aloof in a new shed formed for the purpose with green *Lakkali* leaves. She remains in the shed for a period of from three to seven days, when she is supposed to be in a state of pollution, which is observed with even more strictness than in the higher castes. The washer-woman of the caste, supplies her with washed clothes and she may enter the temple or her ordinary dwelling only after a bath on the fifth or the seventh day.

On the evening of that day, she makes *pūja* before a *kalasa*, representing the patron deity, and a general dinner is given by her parents. For a period of sixteen days, they give her rich food, consisting of jaggery, nuts, ghee and pulses. Most of the expense incurred for the ceremonies on this occasion is borne by her husband, if she is already married. If the girl is not married, the expenses are paid with the bride-price in marriage, the latter custom being prevalent in some of the malnad (hilly) tracts, especially in Hassan and Arkalgud taluks. On the twelfth day, she becomes pure, according to one account. A few members of the caste follow a different custom. On the day the girl bathes after puberty, she worships the sacred peepul tree and embraces it afterwards.

If she is already married, the news of her attaining the age is carried by her brother to her husband, who, in recompense, gives him a good entertainment. At the consummation, which generally takes place on the sixteenth day of her attaining puberty, the couple are seated on a plank, and married women wave *ārati* over them and mark their foreheads with the blood of a sheep. She is presented with rice, fruits, etc., placed in her garment. The husband and her father both present her with a new cloth. The ceremony ends with a feast. The next

day the girl is taken away by her husband to his house.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

The remarriage of widows is permitted, and takes place in a less elaborate form known as *sirudike*, i.e., the presentation of the *sari*. It is not conducted by a priest, and the bride is valued at half the price of a virgin girl. A widow's children by her first husband belong to his family, and may not claim any property that her second husband left to his sons. In the absence of legal heirs to the property of her first husband, she may succeed to his property, and, according to some, pass it on to her children by the second husband. It is, however, doubtful if this view is recognized everywhere and would always obtain the sanction of the courts. A woman may not choose for her second husband any one of her deceased husband's brothers, but may marry one of his cousins. She may, in no case, take a husband in the *kula* (family) of her father. For remarriage, the husband need not necessarily be older than the wife.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE

Divorce is permitted at the desire of either party for infidelity on the part of the wife, or even without such a ground, if they agree to part, provided she pays a fine to the caste. But if she remarries, she has to give back the jewels presented by her first husband and nine rupees of the *tera* amount and the marriage expenses estimated at fifty rupees. If a husband deserts his wife without cause, he has to pay her a compensation of twenty-five rupees. The form of marriage for a divorced person is *kudike*, that is, the same as for a widow's marriage. The price paid to a divorced bride is six rupees only. Among Gangadikār and Morasu Holeyās, though divorce is recognized, the divorced person is not allowed to remarry. Adultery is not abhorred. The

matter may be settled with ease by payment of fine to the caste, who use it for drinking liquor.

In a few cases, a father, in fulfilling a vow, may dedicate his daughter to the patron deity. The vow might have been made to free his daughter from an attack of illness, or to ensure that she may be spared to him. On a lucky day, the girl, newly bathed and decently attired, is taken to the temple of her patron deity, which is generally situated in the *Holageri* (Holeyā quarters). She sits there with a dagger by her side facing the goddess. The priest ties round her neck a disk, selected out of a number of those hanging on the idol. This is followed by a caste dinner. The girl remains in the temple for a day, and thenceforward she may associate with any man of the caste or of higher castes, or may permanently live in concubinage with any of her caste, her paramour visiting her in her house. Children born of such connections are legitimate, and are accorded the same consideration as those of married parents.

DEDICATION
OF GIRLS.

This custom of dedicating girls to gods is not in vogue among the Gangadikār and Morasu Holēyas, but is general among the rest. In a few families, it is a custom to have always one of their daughters so dedicated; and a council of allied families see to it that there is one such at least among them every year. A girl thus dedicated is considered the living representative of the goddess, and has certain special privileges, such as leading the procession of the goddess, with a torch in her hand. The custom apparently corresponds to the practice recognised by some of the Kurubas of dedicating girls as Basavis. In both cases, it is obviously a concession to the proclivities of the community, those of the higher castes being especially favoured.

POST-NATAL
CEREMONIES.

To ensure the safe delivery of a child, some elderly man with a reputation for magic gives some oil which is administered to the mother. Arrack is taken to allay pains in the belly after delivery. A *mantrasani* (lit. a witch) or midwife cuts the navel cord and attends on the mother. The severed navel cord is tied to the cradle to act as a charm. The mother lives for nine days on rice only. Musk and *gorochanam** are given internally to both the mother and the child.

The name-giving takes place on the tenth day, when the father purifies himself with a shave and the mother is bathed. Among the Dāsa section, the parents sit down together with the child for the ceremony. Their *guru*, who is a Sātāni, brands the child with the symbols of Viṣṇu, and marks on the forehead of the child a *tilaka* or a perpendicular white line. If the *guru* is not available on the tenth day, the ceremony will be observed on the last day of the month. Among some people, children are named during the annual festival of their family deity.

The names of local and tribal deities are, as usual, most generally given to men and women. The following may, however, be mentioned as characteristic of the caste, being specially such as are rarely used by other castes:—

Men

Daita.	Laguma.	Goviga.
Hindi.	Sittiga.	Bogya.
Jodiga.	Bolaga.	Pavadiga.
Haligayatruga.	Pateliga.	Navaniga.
Koniga.	Jaganiga.	

* A bright yellow pigment prepared from the urine or bile of a cow or vomited by a cow in the form of scybala, or found in the head of that animal.—Dr. F. KITTEL.

Women.

Yalagi.	Guni	Salyamma
Baiyi.	Sadi.	Bisakka.
Tani.	Konchi.	Balakka.
Anki.	Kati.	Kaki.
Nyati.	Arasi.	Busi.
Pati.	Sandi.	Peritayi.
Velli.	Bandi.	
Sooli.	Mudi.	

Haida (boy), Māri or Kusu (child), Ammayya or Avva (mother), Akka (elder sister) and Tangi (younger sister) are their names of endearment. A child born after the death of a few brothers and sisters is given an opprobrious name such as Tippa, meaning rubbish; Javaraya, god of death, and Sudugadu, cremation ground. A child thus protected with the opprobrious name, is taken to the shrine of the patron deity, where the parents fulfil their vows, bore a hole in the nose and fit metallic rings into it in the name of Dharmarāya, the god of death. They have no custom of giving more than one name.

In the matter of inheritance, Hindu Law, modified by tribal custom, is followed. Sons divide the paternal property equally, but the youngest son has the right of selecting his share first, a custom somewhat opposed to the recognized superior status of the eldest, according to orthodox doctrine. A son-in-law who resides with his father-in-law receives an equal share with his brother-in-law. Widows and unmarried daughters are entitled to maintenance.

INHERITANCE

Adoption is practised by a few of the sections, especially in the Malnad tracts, where brother's sons are preferably taken in adoption. In no case is a younger brother adopted. In the rest of the area, adoption is seldom in vogue. Sister's sons and wife's sister's sons are brought up as foster sons,

but are not affiliated to the new family. Their status for marriage remains exactly as it was before.

RELIGION.

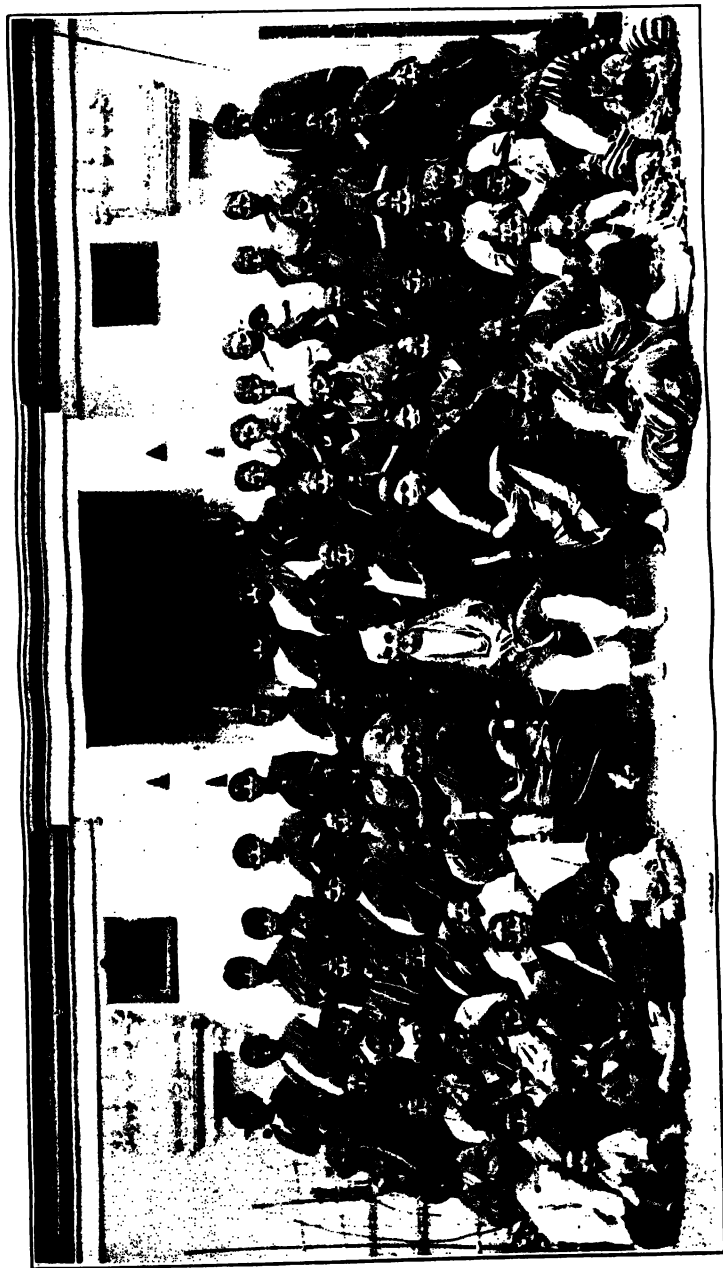
The followers of Siva are known as Mullujana, and revere the Linga at Nanjangud, and Chaudēswari and Narasimhaswāmi. Their patron deities are Māstamma and Baire Dēvaru. Their *gurus* belong to the Lingāyat caste. Dāsajana are the devotees of Viṣṇu, and they put on *nāma*. Their *gurus* are *Sātānīs*, who render help in the funeral ceremonies, and prepare the *bhashinga* worn at marriages by the bride and bridegroom. Those who become *dāsās* are branded by a *guru* with a metallic signet with Vaishṇava marks.

The caste, as a whole, worships all kinds of gods. The males kill animals in propitiating them, while the females offer only fruits or cooked grains. Māramma, the spirit of epidemic diseases, is propitiated with the killing of fowls or sheep. It is worshipped on Fridays and Tuesdays, with the help of a priest either of their own or of a higher caste. Gangamma is propitiated with the offering of fruits. Females only worship this god, which presides over the diseases peculiar to women. Māstamma, Baire Dēvaru and Manigamma are given only fruits and preparations of rice. Hindamma and Hosakereyamma are bloodthirsty goddesses and require the killing of animals.

The following are the names of other deities (chiefly of female *sakti* or spirits) which are worshipped in different localities:—

Durgi, Masanamma, Huchchangiyamma, Hulasamma, Mutyālamma, Muniamma, Hindamma, Pātalamma, Virabhadra, Hosakereappa and Māsti Dēvaru.

As a rule, all gods are given only *chokkabhōjana* vegetable food, while goddesses representing the



A FEMALE GROUP OF HOLEYA CONVERTS TO SRIVAISHNAVISM WITH THEIR GURU.

sakti require to be propitiated with the killing of animals. Most of the above-mentioned goddesses are village deities, some are worshipped on Tuesdays and Fridays only, and some annually on festive days. In honour of the gods of the last kind, annual *jātras* are held, at which many people meet together, and buffaloes and other animals are killed. The offerings made to the gods are eaten by this caste. They do not appear to have taken kindly to spirits of trees, animals or springs, though they sometimes locate their recognized gods under trees.

In this caste are to be found a number of religious orders who live by mendicancy. They do not stick to any one place, but make frequent journeys from one place of pilgrimage to another. They are the *dāsās*, the *jōgis*, the *dēvaraguddas*, the *bidimanushyas* or the *nilagārari*. Such sections of the caste as recognize Chunchangiri Bhaire dēvaru as their family god, set apart a man to lead a religious life, into which he must be initiated by a Bairagi, who is also a disciple of the *matha* at Chunchangiri, Nāgamangala taluk. The Bairagi bores a hole in the lobe of the right ear of the man to be made a *jōgi*, with an iron needle called *dīksha chūri* and has to manage not to let more than two drops of blood fall to the ground in doing so. Then the candidate bathes and suspends to his neck a *kōla singanāda*, a tapering metallic whistle ornamented with rinds at intervals, which he hangs to his neck by a thread made of black sheep wool, intertwined sixteen times. Thenceforth he attains the rank of a priest in his caste, entitled to alms on festive and ceremonial occasions. When beginning his *pūja* or his feast, a *jōgi* takes his whistle in his right hand and blows a loud shrill note. A *jōgi* is usually initiated in fulfilment of a vow taken by the parents, and it is

RELIGIOUS
ORDERS.

said that he has to remain celibate for life. Many other castes enter into this order, such as Okkaligas, Kurubas, Besthas and Agasās. Those who pass by the *baje* of Nilagaras wear the badge of god Mantēswara, and girls are also so dedicated. They have to live by begging. Their head is shaved and a string of the *rudrākshi* beads and *Lingamani* are worn. They apply ashes to their foreheads, and carry a begging bowl and sack for holding the alms, with a cane and musical instrument, which are the badges of their profession. *Dēvaraguddas*, also known *bidi-manushyas* or single men, are the *pujāris* of the caste.

PRIESTS.

Brāhmins are not employed for the conduct of religious and funeral ceremonies. A Brāhman's approach into the Holeya quarters is resented just as much as the Brāhman avoids contact with a Holēya. The reason for this dislike is turned into a myth. It is said that Lakshmi went in her monthly sickness (which is a state of pollution) to various houses seeking a resting place. The Kōmatīs received her kindly, and Brāhmans did not allow her to approach their abode. Each had their reward, Kōmatīs being generally wealthy and Brāhmans poor. She was given a safe asylum in the houses of Holeyas. The latter fear that if a Brāhman goes to their quarters, their Lakshmi will go away with him, and so drive him out. A *Sātāni* is generally the priest of this caste. He attends at the name-giving ceremony and conducts funeral ceremonies. A Brāhman astrologer is, however, sometimes consulted to fix auspicious moments for the celebration of marriages and for the first entry into houses.

A man of the Lingāyat caste and a Tirukula *dāsa* of the Vishṇu cult also sometimes serve as priests.

The dead are buried, as a rule ; but sometimes old people are cremated. The body is laid in the grave



A MALE GROUP OF HOLEYA CONVERTS TO SRIVAISHNAVISM WITH THEIR GURU.

with its head turned towards the south. People of the same family observe mourning for ten days for the death of adult married people, and three days for that of more distant relations, or of a daughter's son.

Soon after death, the body is washed and shrouded in a new cloth and marks of ashes or of *nāma* are put on the forehead, and the body is smeared with ashes and sandal paste and decked with flowers. It is then placed on a bier of Kalli wood, in a sitting posture in the case of Vaishnavas, or in a lying posture with the right flank down in the case of Śaivas. Before starting to the burial ground, exchange of betel-leaves takes place between the deceased and the surviving wife. As soon as the bier is lifted, an earthen pot is smashed at the place where it had been placed. The body is set down when it has been carried half way, and the chief mourner passes once round it, and the bearers change sides. The grave will be ready, being dug by the *chakra* (a village peon) and purified with a lotion of cow dung and cow's urine sprinkled over, and its bottom lined with a layer of ashes. The body is deposited in the grave over a plantain leaf. A coin is stuck into the nose of the deceased. A cloth is spread over the body with a few coins tied in one of its corners. Then the waist string is cut off and thrown out.

FUNERAL
CEREMONIES.

The chief mourner who is the son or other relative nearest to the deceased throws in the first handful of earth, and others follow and fill up the grave. Half a seer of rice and four pies are placed on a cloth over the grave. These are taken by the grave-digger for his services. For the spirit of the deceased, they place over the grave some rice, jaggery and a few coins, which the mendicants, *Dāsayya* and others accept, after declaring that the deceased has reached the upper world. The wife of the deceased takes

off her bangles and throws them over the grave. Those who have accompanied the dead body return home after dipping themselves in a tank or spring. A lamp is lit at the place where the spirit has left the body, and some water is kept in a vessel close by and sand spread round it. Next morning, the water is examined and foot-prints are searched for on the sand. If no foot-prints are seen and the water is not diminished, it is feared that the spirit has reason to be dissatisfied. A soothsayer is consulted, and according to his advice, some food is buried where the deceased breathed his last. On the third day, all the relatives of the deceased serve over the grave, milk, ghee, toddy and such other good things as the deceased liked, when he was alive.

The principal mourner gets shaved, and bathes on the eleventh day. He places new cloths before a new earthen vessel, and breaks cocoanuts in the name of the deceased. The priest who directs the obsequies of this day, is a *Sātāni*. Toddy forms an essential accompaniment, and those who partake of the liquor are considered to have kept company with the deceased at the feast. The *Sātāni* priest, after serving the guests with toddy, is said to take some for himself. He then conducts the mourner to the burial ground, where he places his feet over the grave, and bids the mourner wash them and prostrate himself. For all this, the priest is rewarded with gifts of money and grains. During the period of mourning, they do not attend *bhajama* (religious gathering) or take part in any festivities or auspicious ceremonies. They do not perform any *srādhās*.

ADMISSION
OF OTHER
CASTES.

Such recruits are purified with certain ceremonies, as shaving the head (for 'males), branding the tongue with a piece of gold, drinking cow's urine and bathing the body with water from sacred vessels.

These persons are made to pass successively through seven huts which are put up and soon burnt down after they have been passed through, symbolical of seven births. They make *pūja* to the *Mudra* of the caste, and then give a dinner to the members, at which they have to collect morsels from the guests and partake of food thus collected. Thereafter they are admitted into the caste, and no social disabilities are imposed on them. The new men are affiliated to some *kula* or *gōtra* of the Holeyas.

Holeyas look down upon Mādigas as inferior, as the latter work on leather and are village scavengers. But they are regarded as unclean by the higher castes equally with the Mādigas. Strictly speaking, they are not allowed to enter the houses of most of the higher castes, and have to stand at a distance from Brāhmans. The dictates of necessity, however, and increasing enlightenment on both sides are now greatly relaxing the rules. There are no social disabilities of any kind in the matter of acquiring and owning property, but Holeyas generally avoid quarters in the neighbourhood of those occupied by the higher castes.

SOCIAL
STATUS.

Holeyas may not use the village well, and the village barber and washerman do not render services to them. But they have their own barbers and washermen, and are not put to any inconvenience.

At Melkote in the Mysore district, Rāmānuja-chārya, the Vaishṇava reformer, accorded to these outcastes the privilege of entering the temple along with the Brāhmans and other higher castes during the annual car festival for a period of three days. On the day of the procession, the Tirukulam * people,

* Tirukulam (sacred caste) is the title given by Rāmānuja-chārya to this caste for the services rendered to the temple of Melkote, (*Mysore Census Report*, 1891).

men, women and children, shave their heads and bathe with the higher castes in the Kalyāni *thirtham* or large reservoir, and carry on their head small earthen vessels filled with rice and oil, and enter the temple as far as the flag-staff, where they deliver their offerings. The privilege of entering the temple during the annual car procession is enjoyed also by the outcastes in the Vishṇu temple at Bēlur, Hassan district.*

Ordinarily a Holeyā is not permitted to enter a temple, and in case he enters it, it has to be purified. A Holeyā does not eat in the house of a Mādiga, Koracha or Nagarata.

The members of the caste follow the cult of Vishṇu or Siva ; but they resort by preference, to the more vulgar and barbarous representations of these deities. They pay homage chiefly to the images which personify malignant powers and blood thirsty qualities.

OCCUPATION.

The following extracts from the *Mysore Census Report* of 1891, relating to the occupations of this caste, are interesting, and exhibit a state of things that is fast disappearing as regards its objectionable features :—

“The Holeyas are chiefly employed as labourers in connection with agriculture and manufacture with hand-loom, various kinds of coarse or home-spun cloth which are worn extensively by the poorer classes. In some parts of the Mysore district considerable numbers of the Holeyas are specially engaged in betel and vine gardening. As labourers, these classes are employed in innumerable pursuits in which manual labour preponderates. The Aleman sub-division furnishes recruits for sepoys. In the maidan, they enjoy a certain recognized prestige

* *Mysore Census Report*, 1891, page 251.

and status in the village autonomy, as has been already noticed. In the malnad, however, the Holeya had degenerated into an agrestic slave and till a few decades ago under the British rule, not only as regards his property but also with regard to his body, he was not his own master. The *vargadar* or landholder owned him as a hereditary slave. In most of the purely malnad or hilly taluks, each *vargadar*, or proprietor of landed estate owns a set of servants styled *huttālu* and *mannālu*. The former is the hereditary servitor of the family born in servitude and performing agricultural work for the landholder from father to son. The *mannālu* is a serf attached to the soil and changes hands with it. In order furthermore to rivet the ties which bind these hereditary labourers to the soil, it is alleged that the local capitalists have improvised a kind of Gretna Green marriage among them. A legal marriage of the orthodox type contains the risk of a female servant being lost to the family in case the husband did not chance to be a *huttālu* or *mannālu*. So, in order to obviate the possible loss, a custom prevails, according to which a female *huttālu* or *mannālu* is espoused in what is locally known as the *manikattu* form, which is neither more nor less than licensed concubinage. She may be given up after a time, subject to a small fine to the caste, and anybody else may then espouse her on like conditions. Not only does she then remain in the family, but her children will also become the landlord's servants."

The average wages paid to these people are :—

Daily	..	{ 1 Kolaga of paddy for males.
		{ 4½ Kolagas of paddy for females.
		{ 1 Meal of cooked food.

<i>For a male.</i>				Rs. a. p.		
Annually ..	{	1 Turban .. ..	..	0	6	0
		1 Hachada .. ..	..	2	0	0
		1 Datti .. ..	..	0	6	0
		1 Kambli .. ..	..	1	4	0

<i>For a female.</i>				Rs. a. p.		
Annually ..	{	1 Sadi .. ..	..	2	8	0
		1 Bodice .. ..	..	0	4	0
		1 Valli .. ..	..	0	12	0
		1 Kambli .. ..	..	1	4	0

In large places, especially in Mysore and Bangalore, the Holeyas are fairly prosperous, and quite able to hold their own in labour and other markets. There are many petty raiyats holding their fields directly under Government; in fact, there are quite as many independent raiyats as subordinate tenants among them. They do not fix any particular day in the week as auspicious for ploughing and other agricultural operations.

The rains under *Bharani*, *Krittikē* or *Punarvasu* are considered lucky, while *Aswini* rain is unlucky.

In addition to their duties in the field, they are village watchmen and general messengers. A Chala-vādi, who is generally a Holeyā, is the servant of the right hand or eighteen-caste section of the community, and the custodian of its symbol namely, the bell and the ladle. These are made of brass and are connected together by a chain of the same metal. The Chala-vādi carries the ladle on his right shoulder and heads the processions of all the people of the right hand section, sounding the bell with the shake of the chain. These insignia are also produced at caste assemblies, and sometimes they are placed before Sangameswara *gaddige*, and *pūja* made to them. Engraved on the ladle are the badges of the different castes composing this section, such as the plough of



HOLEYAS WRESTLING AT THEIR GARADI.

the Okkaliga, the scales of the Banajiga, the shears of a Kuruba, the spade of a Odda, the razor of a barber, the washing stone-slab and pot of an Agasa, and the wheel of a Kumbāra. This also contains a bull flanked on either side by the sun and the moon. At the foot of the spoon are also engraved the figures of an ass and of a Bidi Basavi.

Tamil Holeyas take food in the houses of Kannada and Telugu sections, while the latter do not return the compliment, regarding the Tamil Holeyas as inferior in origin. The Gangadikāra Holeyas are regarded as the highest in rank. They do not eat in the houses of even other Kannada Holeyas, but also purify metal vessels touched by them before use and throw away earthen pots so polluted.

FOOD.

Some of them catch small game, and also eat rats. They eat almost all kinds of flesh excepting crocodile's. They eat the flesh of cattle, sheep, goat, wild boar, pork, peacock, wolf and soft-scaled fish. Toddy and arrack are freely drunk, and sometimes women also indulge in this habit.

Toe-ring, *tālī* and bangles are not worn by widows. Women get their hands and foreheads tattooed by Koracha women. Males dress themselves with a loin cloth and *kambli*, and females with *sīre* and bodice. During Dīpavali they dance *kōlāta*.

DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS.

The Holeyas were the agrestic slaves of the soil as in other parts of Southern India. They were emancipated about the middle of the last century. In fact, they constitute, as fully as their name implies, the backbone of cultivation in the country. *Hola* is the Canarese name for a dry crop-field and *Holaya* means the man of such field. There are numerous endogamous groups among the Holeyas

CONCLUSION.

and the caste is well organized. Their council of elders is presided over by a chief called 'Gothugara' which decides all subjects relating to bad discipline. Their marriage customs, were at one time, very loose, but now have become rather rigid owing to their contact with other higher castes. As the original inhabitants of the land, their services were, and are even now requisitioned in determining the boundaries connected with land disputes. They are at present engaged in all occupations, chiefly, agriculture, manufacture with hand-loom. Some are field-labourers and some are recruits as Sepoys. They now prefer to call themselves Adikarnatakas corresponding to Adidravidas of the Madras Presidency.

IDIGA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—HABITATIONS—MARRI-
AGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—
WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—BIRTH
CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE—ADOPTION—TRIBAL CONSTI-
TUTION—ADMISSION OF OUTSIDERS INTO THE CASTE—
RELIGION—SUPERSTITIONS—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—SOCIAL
STATUS—DIETERY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

THE I'digas are a toddy-drawing caste from *Ichalu* INTRODUC-
trees (date-palm—*Boswellia thurefera*). They TION.
are found all over the State, but the districts
of Bangalore and Mysore contain a very large number
of them. They have no other names or nicknames
given to them. Sometimes they call themselves in
mutual correspondence “sons of the goddess of the
toddy pot” (*Sura Bhandesvari-makkalu*—a title
which was apparently coined for them on account
of its euphonious sound).

Various derivations are given of the word I'diga.
Some derive it from the word *I'dchu* meaning to
draw, while others say that it comes from *I'dalu*
which is the name of the toddy tree in Telugu.
In some parts of the Shimoga district bordering on
the Bombay Presidency, they are styled *Iligaru*
which is said to be a corrupt form of *Ilisōru*, that is,
drawers (of toddy), but it is more likely that this
term is another form of the word I'digarū, *I* having
been substituted for *d*, a local peculiarity. The toddy
drawers of Malabar are known as I'la'var or Ezhuvars
(Tiyar), which is said to be derived from the word
Simhala, the ancient name for Ceylon, it having

been surmised that the term "must have passed through Simhalan to Sihalan and Ihalan and finally to I'lavan." * I'lvars are the drawers of toddy from the cocoanut tree, which they are believed to have introduced into India.† It is possible that the I'digars are really allied to I'lvars.

The word I'diga appears to be derived from *I'di*, meaning toddy which corresponds to the Tamil words *I'li* and *E'li* and to the Telugu word *I'ndre*, all of which mean toddy. The termination *iga* is a noun suffix denoting occupation. Their language is Telugu, and, except in the Western districts, where they have forgotten their original language and adopted Canarese, they speak it at home. Even those who speak it are not regarded as a distinct caste for marriage and other relations.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE
CASTE.

The I'digas claim to have been originally Banajigas who became a distinct caste from the profession adopted by them. They exalt their calling by attributing to it, as usual, some supernatural origin. While going in a jungle with Parameswara, it is stated, that Pārvasi felt thirsty, and that they could not find a drop of water. Seeing a date tree, Pārvasi felt that its juice would be sweet, and Śiva seeing a Banajiga going to a village with his strings of bangles slung on his shoulders, commissioned him to pierce the trunk of the tree with his trident in the manner pointed out by Pārvasi.

The man placed his bangles on the tree and using his *lingam* thread as a sling for his feet while climbing the tree, he filled his *linga* box (*Karadige*) with the juice, and offered it to the goddess. The gods found its taste so delicious that they commanded the man to adopt this profession, and to supply

* *Malabar Manual*, page 145.

† Compare *Tenkayi* that is, *Tenkalu-kayi*, i.e., fruit of the South.

the gods in Indra's paradise with the liquor, and to ensure that the drawer might not be tempted to appropriate the ambrosial liquid to his own use, they bound him with a strong oath never to drink the liquor he drew. The Banajiga thus lost his religious emblem as well as his former profession. The truth of this story may be verified by the resemblance of bunches of date fruit to a bangle-seller's *Mallara* (i.e., a sling of bangles slung on the shoulder). The liquor supplied led to drunken brawls in heaven, and the man who was mainly responsible was made to drag the inebriated gods back to their places. He was thence known as I'diga (that is, one that drags).

Another account traces their descent to two Rishis. The venom that was thrown out by the great serpent, when he was used as a rope for churning the ocean, poisoned all the waters of the world. To save the Devas from thirst, Siva commanded the Rishis Kaundinya and Karunya to tap the Kadamba (date) tree for its juice. Goddess Pārvati herself showed them how to make the cuts on the bark, and Siva distributed the liquor to the gods, using the shells of margosa fruit as drinking cups. These Rishis were appointed as hereditary vendors of liquor for the Dēvaloka ; but after some generations, their avarice tempted them to adulterate the precious juice, and they allowed unhallowed persons to touch the divine drink. They were of course doomed to fall after this, and they are now the I'digas catering for the wants of lower classes exclusively, the higher classes being forbidden to drink.

The prohibition against drinking by the higher castes is ascribed to a different cause by another story. In the war between Devas and Daityas (gods and demons), the latter possessed a great advantage in the power of their priest Sukrāchārya to revive all the dead warriors by means of a *mantra*

known only to him. The Devas prevailed upon their *guru*, Brihaspati, to send his son as a pupil to the house of the rival *guru*, so that, without revealing his purpose, he might learn the priceless *mantra*. The boy was received into the family, and so ingratiated himself by his good conduct as to be regarded as a son. The demons, however, became suspicious, and resolved to kill him. In order to place it beyond the power of Sukrāchārya to revive him, they burnt the body, and mixed the ashes in the toddy which the *guru* drank. Missing the favourite pupil, the high priest discovered by his superior vision what had been done. He could of course bring the pupil to life, but he himself would die in the process. To overcome the difficulty, the wise priest brought the boy to life, and as he lay in his stomach, taught him the secret *mantra* and enjoined him to use it to revive his *guru* after he came out of the latter's body. The boy thus achieved the secret object of his mission.* After this experience, Sukrāchārya was so convinced of the dangers of drink, that he cursed the liquor, and prohibited all *Dvijās* (twice born classes) from touching it on pain of excommunication.

Iḍigas are immigrants into Mysore from the Telugu country. One tradition gives Rājamahendri as their place of origin while another says that they came into Mysore from Penukonda. Dānana Gauda, otherwise styled Nirvaṇa Gauda, and Gopāl Gauda, related to each other as brothers-in-law, are mentioned as the two men who founded the caste. In addressing each other in formal correspondence, Iḍigas mention their connection with these two

* To couple the story, it must be added, however, that the Devas did not derive any benefit, for Sukrāchārya's daughter, falling in love with the revived pupil, asked him to marry her, and on his refusal, bestowed on him a curse which deprived him of his newly found virtue.

names in the superscription of their letters as follows :—

“ Of the pure *gôtras* of Kaundinya and Karunya, are the progenitors of the line of Gopala Gauda and Nirvana Gauda and worshipper of the goddess of the toddy pot.”

Endogamous groups.—The caste contains two main endogamous groups, namely :—(1) Maddi, or Sacha (liquor pure) I'digas, and (2) Bellada (jaggery), or E'ni (ladder) I'digas. The former are also styled Ū'ru I'digas (Village dwellers) in contradistinction to the other division, who used mostly to reside in date groves, and were thus called Kādu I'digas (jungle dwellers).

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

Maddi I'digas practise the profession of drawing toddy and vending it to others for drinking, while Bellada I'digas convert the juice into jaggery. This latter work, which is carried on in the toddy groves, has now been almost wholly dishonoured, and both classes are engaged in supplying toddy for drinking. The Ūru I'digas never drink toddy themselves while the Kādu I'digas indulge in the habit ; it is said that this is the chief cause of their becoming split into two endogamous groups.

Another division is said to have existed formerly under the name of Dandu I'digas (i.e., Army I'digas) whose duty it was to follow an army, to tap trees near camps and supply the liquor to the soldiers. It is possible that this was only the name of the profession. At any rate, no representatives of this section seem to exist now.

The people of the two sections do not dine with each other, and it is claimed that Bellada I'digas are inferior to the Sacha or Ū'ru Idigas, whose houses they do not enter.

In some places in Mysore and Bangalore districts, the Sacha I'digas are again divided into three groups

known as *E'lumaneyavaru*, *Muvattumaneyavaru* and *Arvattumaneyavaru*, i.e., those of seven families, those of thirty families and those of sixty families. These eat together, but do not intermarry, except that, it is said, the members of the 'seven families' take girls from the class of the 'thirty families,' but not *vice versa*. The origin of those sub-divisions cannot be traced.

Exogamous clans.—I'digas have two exogamous clans styled *S'asmeyavaru* and *Boddeyavaru*. The former are said to belong to the Karunya *gōtra*, and the latter to the Kaundinya *gōtra*. These divisions are common to the two sections of the I'digas. They have, in addition, family names, which are the names of places from which their respective ancestors emigrated, as for example, *Solurivaru* of Soluru village. Jadapallivaru of (Jadapalli), Atlurivaru (of Atlur), etc. It may be noted here that all the Telugu castes found in the State have family names which are generally indicative of exogamous restrictions.

HABITATIONS

I'digas are in comparatively easy circumstances, and build houses of a substantial character. There is nothing typical in the construction of their dwellings, except perhaps that in front of their houses, they have generally an enclosure, sometimes covered with thatch-roofing, in which they tether their donkeys, which are employed for carrying liquor from the toddy trees in leather pouches slung on their backs. Sometimes ponies are used as beasts of burden for this purpose, and many of them keep riding on animals also. They consider bullocks sacred, and never use them for carrying toddy.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CER- EMONIES.

Polygamy is somewhat common, as an additional wife is useful in attending to house or trade business, but the common reason for marrying a second

wife is the want of issue by the first wife or any bodily infirmity. The first wife is generally a consenting party, and lives amicably along with the partner. Polyandry is unknown.

Adult marriage is the rule, though infant marriage is celebrated, when the parents are in good circumstances and wish to adopt customs considered as respectable. The usual marriageable age for men is about twenty. The husband must always be older than the wife. They observe the usual rules about the prohibited degrees of marriage. A man may marry two sisters, and two sisters may be married to two brothers. Exchange of daughters is allowed and practised. When two families exchange daughters, the *tera*, or bride-price, is not, as a rule, paid by either party. When a girl is married before puberty, she resides with her parents and makes casual visits to the husband's house, till she attains womanhood, and consummation takes place.

If the match is considered desirable, the bridegroom's father commences the negotiations. The formal compact is openly made at the *vilya sastra* (betel-leaves ceremony), at which the intended bride is seated on a *kambly* and presented with new cloths; and betel-leaves and areca-nuts are exchanged between the father of the bride and the father of the bridegroom. The girl's father gives dinner to the castemen.

The marriage takes place in the house of the bridegroom, whither the bride's party repair on the evening of the day previous to the commencement of the ceremony. On the first day, the parties fast till midday, and then go outside the village to worship a snake-hole. This snake worship is known as *Nagara-tani*. The mortar and pestle, to which a yellow-dyed cotton-thread is wound, are worshipped by married women in the marriage house, and then

they go with four new earthen pots to a well or tank, to bring home holy water, which is used for cooking food. A pandal is erected on twelve posts, and the maternal uncle of the bride-groom brings home a branch of the *Kalli* wood, to serve as 'milk-post,' after offering *pūja* to it. A package with five kinds of grains is tied to it, and the post is wrapped with a yellow cloth, supplied by the washerman, and it is embedded in a hole in which a bit of gold, a pearl, a bead of coral, and some butter and milk are placed. The persons to be married are then seated on planks separately, and are rubbed over with turmeric. This is the bridal ceremony.

The next day they celebrate the *Devarūta*, or God's feast, at which the Vaishṇava section of the I'digas invite *Dāsaiyyas* to perform *pūja* and distribute *prasāda*. Then a party of twenty-four married women go to a potter's house, and bring the sacred pots, which are deposited in a room* on a bed of manure mixed with nine kinds of staple grains. The maternal uncle brings a twig of a *Nērale* (Jambolina) tree, and ties it up to the "milk-post." He is subjected to considerable banter and rubbed with turmeric, as if he were a woman, and, presented with *tāmbula* and some money.

The *Muhūrta*, or the main ceremony, takes place on the third day. It is begun very early at about 2 A.M., with the *Bīra-gudī* ceremony. At a place where three paths meet, a spot is cleaned with cowdung and water, the person who cleans using only the left hand. It is decorated with lines of *rangoli* powder drawn thereon, and a bow and an arrow are placed near it, a screen concealing it from view. New clothes and jewels, to be presented to the bride, are also placed there. The whole thing is worshipped

* The Bellada (jaggery) I'diga section keep these pots on the marriage dais, and worship them every day during the marriage.

with the offerings of cocoanuts, sweet cakes, etc. A number of boys, with marks of *nāmas* put on them, are taken there. Plantains and sweet cakes are stuck to the arrow, the bow and the arrow are given to one of the urchins. He runs round the screen three times, followed by the other boys, all of whom shout loudly and make a great noise. At the end of the third turn, they scatter and run way in different directions. Then the party noiselessly return home without once looking back. It is said that this proceeding should not be witnessed by strangers.

The bathing with *malenīru*, the procession of the bridegroom, the tying of the *tāli*, and the worship of the sacred pots, all take place more or less in the same order as among other similar castes. The bride's sister welcomes the bride-groom, first serving him with food and sweet cakes. His maternal uncle ties the *bhashinga* on his turban; and the bride's brother (jocularly styled *kodaga*, or monkey) is fantastically rigged, with margosa leaves, round his head, and walks out in front of the procession, carrying a bow and an arrow. He is also called *Billina-kencha*, or *Kencha* of the bow. The bride-groom carries a dagger in his left hand wrapped in a piece of red cloth. As they approach the pandal, each party throws handfuls of half-pound paddy at the other.* At the entrance an *ārati* is waved to the bride-groom, who is then led straight to the dais, and made to stand facing the east. The bride is then brought by her maternal uncle and made to stand opposite to the bride-groom, a cloth being held up as a screen between them. A Brāhman *purōhit* is in attendance, and under his direction the bride and the bride-groom place cumin seeds

* Among the Bellada Idiga section, the entrance of the pandal is decorated with a *torana* made of *bondī* the ends of newly woven cloth dipped in turmeric water.

and jaggery on each other's head. The screen is removed and the couple sit facing each other. Then the bride-groom ties the *tāli* to the neck of the bride. This is considered to be the essential and binding portion of the ceremony. They are made to join hands, and the assembled people, including the Patel and the Shanbhog of the place and the caste *yajaman*, pour milk on a cocoanut, held fast by the couple in their joined hands. They now sit side by side, with the hems of their clothes knotted together, and married women rub them with turmeric. They then rise from their seats, go round the 'milk-post, three times, holding each other by the hands, and then go into the room in which the *arivēni* pots are installed. The way is obstructed by the bride-groom's sister who, on a promise from her brother to give her either the first-born daughter, a cow, or some other article of value, is induced to leave the way. In front of the *arivēni*s, food styled *burva*, consisting of a mixture of sweetened rice, plantains, ghee and curds, is served in two dishes, which the couple with their near relations sit down to eat. Two jaggery cubes are given to the couple. Each bites off a slice out of it, and gives the remaining portion to the other to eat. On eating *burva*, each party throws a two-anna piece into the dishes, in which also they wash their hands. The brother-in-law of the bride-groom throws out the contents of the dishes, and takes the coin. In the evening, the couple are shown the star Arundhati.

On the *nagavali* day, the couple get their nails pared, fetch earth from an ant-hill, and make it into twelve balls, and place one near each post of the pandal, with offerings of food. The pot-searching ceremony takes place on the dais, at which the couple are asked to pick up a gold or silver ornament (a nose-screw and a bangle) concealed in a pot of

coloured water. Whichever first picks up the gold is considered to be the future dictator of the family. In the evening, the bridegroom carries the manure and the sprouts of grain sown in the bed under the *arivēni* pots, and goes in procession to a fig-tree near a water-course, the bride carrying the *kalasa*. The plants and the manure are thrown at the foot of the tree, and three small stones are set up there, and worshipped along with the *kalasa*. The couple pour twelve potfuls of water by way of libation to the fig-tree, and go round it. They then make *pūja* to Ganga in the water-course, and carry two pots filled with water on their heads. After returning home, the worship of *simhāsana*, or the improvised seat, takes place at which the headman of the caste officiates and distributes betel-leaves and nuts in the prescribed order of precedence. The *tāmbula* to Gōd is first set apart, then one each to the *guru*, *nādu*, *dēsa* and *gadi*, and then twelve *tāmbulas* to the *yajaman* head man. Then the remaining betel-leaves and nuts are distributed to all.

Next day, the couple and some others go to the bride's village, spend one or two days in feasting in the bride's father's house, and return to the bridegroom's. On a subsequent auspicious day within the first month, the 'milk-post' is removed, after pouring some milk over it, and the girl is sent to her father's house.

The bride price, or *tera*, is eighteen rupees and this should be paid partly on the day of betrothal (*vilya-sāstra*), and the balance on the *dhāre* day. It is reported that formerly there were two scales of *tera*, fifteen and thirty rupees; if the higher *tera* was paid, the girl had to be sent to the husband's house at once, and the latter might refuse to send her back to her father's house; but if the smaller sum was given, the husband was bound to send

her whenever her father went to take her. Now this distinction has ceased to exist, and fifteen rupees only is paid.

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days, during which period she is kept in a shed of green leaves in the yard of the house. As soon as signs of womanhood are discovered, she is given a bath, and sent into the shed, being dressed in a white *sire* (garment) supplied by the washerman. Every day the girl is given a bath, her cloth is changed, and fresh green leaves are put on the shed. There are the usual gatherings of married women in the evenings, the exhibition of the girl before them in state, distribution of turmeric and *kunkuma* to the women takes place, and the girl is given some rich food consisting of pulses, sugar, etc. At dawn, on the fourth morning, the girl pulls down the shed, and throws away the materials to a distance. She is then bathed, and is admitted into the outer part of the house. The spot where the shed stood is cleaned with cowdung and water, and an *yede* of curds and rice is placed there on a plantain leaf, incense is burnt, and a cocoanut broken. The house is purified by a Brāmin *purohit*, who kindles *homa* fire. For twelve days more, the girl is exhibited in the evenings, in the company of married women, presents of cocoanuts, plantains, etc., are given, and *ārati* is waved to her at the close of each sitting. The expenses of the first few days are borne by the husband's party, if the girl has been already married, or by the maternal uncle if she is unmarried. This is called a shed feast. After twelve days, the house is whitewashed and purified. On the spot where the shed stood, an *yede* of cooked rice and green pulse is offered. A fowl or a sheep is killed in the

girl's presence there, and a dinner to the castemen follows.

If the girl has already been married, an auspicious day is fixed for the consummation of the marriage, preferably within the sixteenth day. The couple are seated together, and rubbed with turmeric. The girl is presented with fruits and flowers, and the couple begin to live together from that night. But if the girl is unmarried, the second course of *osige* is put off, and is done a few days before the marriage. But her consummation may not take place within three months after the marriage, or till after the Gauri feast, at which she worships the goddess, and gives presents of *bāgina** to some married women.

Widow marriage, styled *kudike* (union), is generally allowed, though it does not find favour with one of the sections. Widows with children do not generally marry again, but a young widow, as soon as she loses her first husband, is sent to her parent's house if she is disposed to wed another. They say that so long as the widow remains in her husband's house, no proposal for her second marriage can be entertained. Bachelors are not allowed to marry widows, and the widow is not allowed to marry the brother of her deceased's husband. The ceremony of widow marriage always takes place in the evening, near her father's house, and in the presence of castemen. No married women attend the ceremony. The man that wants to marry the widow begins

WIDOW
MARRIAGE.

* Some grains, such as rice, dhal and other pulses, with combs, powder-boxes and other articles of female toilette, are placed in a new winnow and covered over with another winnow, and presented to married women on occasions on which they are to be honoured—especially on the day of Gauri *pōḷa* which falls on the third day of the first fortnight of Bhadrabada (August-September), every year. The main object is to secure for the hostess a long and prosperous married life. These presents are known as *Bagina*.

negotiations with her father who, if he consents, lays the matter before the castemen. The latter send for the relatives of her deceased husband, and get their consent to the proposal. When this is given, any property of the husband which the widow still has, including even the *tāli*, is returned. The *tera*, or bride-price is half that of the first marriage. It is said that it properly belongs to her first husband's heirs, but generally the latter decline to receive it, as derogatory to their dignity, and give it away to the castemen. The ceremony observed at the marriage of the widow is simple, and is generally held on a Wednesday. The widow to be married is given a bath, and brought to the assembly by other widows or remarried women. She puts on the new clothes presented by the man, and gets new bangles. Either the headman of the caste, or one related as maternal uncle, ties the *tali* in the name of the new husband. In some places, this is done by the man himself. *Pansupari* is distributed to the caste people, and a dinner is given. The woman may afterwards put on turmeric and *kunkuma*, the signs of married life, and for all intents and purposes is treated as a *muttaide* (married woman), except that she may not take part in marriage ceremonies. It is reported that her children are freely admitted to all the privileges of the caste, and may be married into families governed by the regular marriage conventions.

ADULTERY
AND
DIVORCE.

A man may not divorce his wife for any other reason than that of her adultery, or loss of caste, and the wife may separate herself from her husband only if the latter is thrown out of caste. If they do not agree to live together, the caste *panchayet* enquires into the case; if the woman is at fault, she is outcasted; but if the fault be on the side of the man, the woman may live separately. In some

parts of the State, a woman divorced or separated from her husband may marry under *kudike* form, while in other parts the caste discipline is stricter, and the woman is not allowed to marry so long as her first husband is alive. A woman living in criminal intimacy with a man of the same caste may have her fault condoned at the option of the husband; but if she is found in adulterous intercourse with a man of a lower caste, she is put out of caste. Such women are generally branded with the symbols of Vaishṇava faith, *saṅka* and *chakra*, and become public women. If one of them dies, her body is not touched by any of the I'digas, but is disposed of by *Dāsaiyyas*. An unmarried girl becoming pregnant by a man of the same caste, may have her fault condoned, and may be married to him subsequently under the *kudike* form. I'digas do not dedicate *Basavis*.

A woman is taken to her parent's house on the occasion of her first pregnancy. In the fifth or seventh month, the parents celebrate the ceremony of decking her with flowers, and present her with new clothes, and entertain her husband and near relations at a feast. The husband is expected to avoid certain acts during this period, such as killing an animal, or carrying a corpse. He is considered to be in an impure state, and is not allowed to besmear a bridal pair with turmeric paste. Pregnant women are carefully kept in a dark place on eclipse days, so that not a single ray of the eclipsed luminary may reach them.*

BIRTH
CEREMONIES.

On the birth of a child, the woman is considered impure for five or seven days. When the child's

* They are not so much caste as general superstitions, and it is believed that if an *enciente* woman exposes herself to such rays, the child will have some bodily deformity, such as 'hare-lip.'

navel-cord is severed, on the day of birth, the wound is staunched with a red-hot needle, and this treatment is believed to prevent the child from getting convulsions. At the threshold of the confinement room, an old winnow and a broomstick are kept, and a bunch of *margosa* leaves is stuck to the door frame. The woman and the child are made to bathe on the fifth or the seventh day, the whole house is cleaned and whitewashed, and all cooking earthen pots are replaced by new ones. A Brāhmin is made to purify the house by sprinkling holy water before cooking is begun for feasting the castemen. The child is named by the paternal aunt, and is put into a cradle for the first time on that evening. Sometimes *Dāsaiyyas* are invited for repeating *tirumantra* and perform *pūja* during the night.

The name given is usually that of the family God or of a deceased ancestor, and it is selected by the eldest member of the family. Sometimes a sooth-sayer is also consulted. If a child gets ill or suffers from other misfortune, the name is sometimes considered unlucky and another is given in its stead. Like others, men of this caste try to deceive the God of Death, by naming a child after some low or filthy object, to show that they attach no particular value to its existence. There are no special names; O'baliga, Anjaniga and Dasiga are most popular.

INHERIT- ANCE

I'digas generally resort to caste *panchayat* to effect partition of property. Sometimes the youngest son is allowed the first choice of the share, and then the next above him. The share given to a father in a partition during his life is said to belong to the son who defrays the funeral expenses at his death. A married daughter is not given any portion* but

* Proverb.—One that has been sold has no connection with the house.

a widow or an unmarried daughter living in the family is given some article of value or a field for her maintenance. The marriage expenses of unmarried sons are first deducted. With these few qualifications, they follow the general law of inheritance.

Adoption is generally practised. The boy to be adopted must be of the same exogamous clan as the adopter, and so a sister's son or a daughter's son cannot properly be taken in adoption. A brother's son is preferable to a stranger. When there is a daughter, a sister's son is generally married to her, and made an *illatam* son-in-law, and a man who has no daughter sometimes adopts a daughter of one of his cousins for this purpose. The chief part of the ceremony is removing the waist-thread of the boy, and substituting another before a caste council. Some present is usually given to the natural mother.

ADOPTION.

The caste is well organised. It is divided into several groups, each having its own headman. The jurisdiction of each group is known as *kattamine*, under a headman styled a 'Gauda.' He has a *Kōlkar*, or messenger, to help him, or is served by a *Chalavādi* of the *Holeya* caste to do his errands in summoning people and other matters. The *yajamān* takes the lead in the determination of caste disputes, the admission of strangers, and excommunication of members, and in the conduct of worship of tribal gods. He is given certain perquisites—either presents of clothes or money.

TRIBAL
CONSTITUTION.

Outsiders belonging to any recognised higher castes, such as *Okkaligas*, may be admitted into their caste, though such admissions occur very rarely. As usual, these admissions are brought

ADMISSION OF
OUTSIDERS
INTO THE
CASTE.

about for the purpose of forming or legalising sexual union. The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes,* and such converts, though at first kept apart, merge in the general community in one or two generations.

RELIGION.

I'digas worship Siva and Vishṇu, with equal reverence. They also do *pūja* to minor deities, such as Munisvara, Māramma and Durgi, and offer animal sacrifices. Their special gods are known as Katamesvara or Kātamedēvaru, and Yallamma or Surabhandesvari (the goddess of the toddy pot). Some of them keep at home images of these gods, and offer *pūja*, on Mondays to Kātamadēvaru, the god of woods, and on Tuesdays and Fridays to Yallamma. They celebrate the worship of these gods periodically on a large scale, when all the members of the caste living in different places at a convenient distance meet together for one or two days feasting.

Kātamadēvaru is said to represent Siva, who once had to conceal himself in an I'diga's house. The latter was a man of such virtue that the trees would bend down of their own accord to allow him to tie the toddy pots as he walked along. Siva, wishing to test whether he had a worthy mate, went to his house during his absence disguised as a beggar, and tempted his wife. He did not succeed, and the husband returned while the pretended beggar was inside the house. Not finding any other place of concealment, the disguised god entered a toddy pot, and was discovered when his breathing set up bubbles in the toddy. The real rank of the mendicant being discovered, he was worshipped by the I'diga and his wife, and promised to stand as

* See *Reda Caste*, Vol. II.

the god of his tribe and commanded that he should be invoked as Kātamadevaru in palm groves.

If this story is an attempt to render the calling of a toddy drawer respectable, that about Yellamma is meant to discover an excuse for adulteration of the liquor. Once she appeared to one of two brothers in the disguise of an ordinary mortal, and asked him to fill up the shell of a margosa fruit with toddy for her. He thought she must be insane and sent her away. The other brother was however ready to humour her, and though he emptied all the pots in the grove, the shell remained unfilled. She mentioned three trees that had been untapped; but even their sap did not fill the cup. At last, he begged the woman herself to solve the difficulty, and she advised him to add a pot of water from a well to the liquor, and when this was poured, the liquor ran over the sides of the cup and flowed in three large streams. She then drank the liquor drawn for her from the reserved tree (known as Basavi tree), and was so pleased that she dropped handfuls of precious stones from her cloth and vanished. She has ever since been worshipped as the tutelary goddess of the tribe.

When they tap the toddy trees for the first time in the year, they select one or more (generally three) trees, the side leaves of which they clear. At the foot of one of them they instal, on a bed of sand, a stone which they call Kātamedevaru. They worship it in the usual fashion, but offer only coconuts. They never tap these trees, and to identify them from the other untapped trees, they split all the leaves in the middle, and any one who ventures to tap a tree so marked is liable to be excommunicated.

They hold periodical celebrations of the worship of these gods. There are temples dedicated to them

in many places in the State situated in or near the groves of toddy trees. Once a year, either in *Chaitra* (March-April) after *Ugādi*, or about the time of *Ekādasi* feast (*Ashādhā*—June-July), they observe the *pūja* of Yallamma, when they set up two pots full of toddy, in the yard of the house. The devotees of this goddess of lower castes, are invited. The *Āsādi* (who is a man of the *Mādigā* caste) and the *Mātangi*, a Basavi woman of the *Mādigas*, also take part in the worship. He sings the praises of Yallamma, and repeats the story of her origin, and *Mātangi* pours forth abuse on the goddess, dances about and exhibits herself in ridiculous postures. It is said that if a man and his wife approach each other during this *Jātra*, it is pollution; and it is believed that the *pūjari* will be able to discover the guilty parties. If he marks them during the time the goddess has possessed him, by putting garlands of flowers on their necks, they will have to live for ever afterwards apart from each other.

The other god worshipped is styled *Mātangi*. It is also worshipped once a year on the day Yallamma's *pūja* takes place. It is represented by an earthen pot filled with toddy and decorated with red flowers and margosa leaves. The pot is installed on a bed of *ragi*, under a margosa tree, in front of Yallamma's temple. After the worship is over, the toddy pot and the articles offered to it are given to a *Holeyā*, who is regarded as their *Haḷemaya*. Sometimes it is given away to *Jogis* of the *Kuruba*, *Holeyā*, or other caste, who are styled *Darsana-dēvaru*, that is, persons putting on cowries and painting their bodies with turmeric and *kunkuma*.

Near all important toddy shops which are always situated at some distance from the village, they have a margosa tree, at the foot of which on a

platform is built a small temple for Yallamma. Before the sale of liquor begins, the I'diga places a small quantity of it near the goddess as an offering. On Tuesdays and Fridays, they offer *pūja* by burning incense and breaking a cocoanut.

They worship all the village, and other local gods, and observe the principal Hindu feasts, such as Ugādi, Gauri and Ganēsa feasts, Dīpāvali and Sankrānti, and fast on two days in the year, Sivarātri in *Magha* (January-February), and *Ekādasi* in *Ashādhā* (June-July). Besides the Hindu gods, they occasionally worship and make vows to Muhammadan *pirs*, and take part in Moharrum festivities, tying a *ladi* thread and becoming Fakirs, as they call it.

I'digas have a class of beggars known as Enutivallu, who visit them periodically and receive some presents. They are said to be custodians of the tribal history of the caste, which they recite during their visits. They are also said to be I'digas with whom other I'digas may eat, though there is no inter-marriage between them.

They believe in omens, miracles, sorcery, magic, soothsaying, etc., and whenever they undertake an important work, they consult a soothsayer, or a Brāhman astrologer.

SUPERSTITIONS.

I'digas bury the dead, but the bodies of those suffering from leprosy are burnt, because they believe that their burial prevents rains during the year. Pregnant women dying are in some places disposed of by *kalluseve* (burial under a heap of stones), and sometimes the dead bodies of lepers are exposed in the woods under a shed, so that they may be eaten by birds. In cases of burial, the body is laid flat, with the head turned to the south. The corpse of a married person is carried by four persons on a

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

bier, but that of an unmarried person by hand. When burying, a pie is placed in the nostril, and the pit is closed in. On the grave, a mound is raised, and the chief mourner plants *Tumbe* plants at the four corners of the grave, with his back turned towards it. Then a shovelful of earth is thrown on each spot, and some coin, placed there, the latter being taken away by the Holeyas as *nelahaga*. If the death has occurred on a Tuesday or a Friday, instead of cooked rice being carried in a pot by the chief mourner, some quantity of uncooked rice is tied up in a bundle to the end of the shroud; and when the corpse is buried, it is untied, and kept at the head of the body, and the grave is closed in. After the body has been so disposed of, the party go direct to a water-course, where the chief mourner bathes, others wash their hands and feet, and all return home and see the light of a lamp placed at the spot where the deceased has expired. Then the relatives offer betel-leaves and nuts to the people of the deceased's family, by way of condolence, and go to their houses. As usual, on the spot of the deceased's death, water and light are kept in the night for the spirit of the deceased. The men who have carried the body may not enter the inner parts of their houses till the third day's ceremony is over.

On that day, if the deceased has been a bachelor, only milk and clarified butter and some parched grain are placed on the grave, and no other ceremony is observed. If he has been married, all the agnates go to the graveyard with cooked food, a hen being killed for the purpose, and after burning frankincense and breaking a cocoanut, offer the food on the grave in a plantain leaf, and invoke the deceased to come and take it, which he is supposed to do when crows devour the food. In the evening, all the



IDI GAR

agnates and other near relatives bring each a fowl, one seer of rice and some incense, and present them to the deceased's family. These provisions are cooked. A *kalasa* is kept in a room in the deceased's house, and the food is offered on leaf-plates. After burning incense, they close the door of the room and retire, to leave the ancestral spirits free to partake of the feast. After this, some milk and ghee are rubbed on the shoulders of the corpse-bearers, to remove the effects of having carried their inauspicious burden. Some butter is smeared on a stone image of a bull (*Basavanna*), and a little of it is put into its mouth. On that day, all the agnates must take their meals in the house of the departed.

All the agnates have to get rid of the *Sūtaka* by bathing on the eleventh day. The Brāhman *purohit* purifies the house, and presents of money and provisions are given to Brāhmans and Jangamas. They cook the day's food with the fire made by the Brāhman for sacrifice. Some of the food is offered on the grave, and a little scattered on the roof of the house for crows. In some places in the Mysore district, cooked food is taken to a water-course, and is served on a plantain leaf on the bank. They make *pūja* to the spirit of the deceased, and then let the plantain leaf carrying the food float away in the water, to be carried to the deceased. The corpse-bearers are invited to the house, where the chief mourner smears their shoulders with milk and ghee, while they are seated on a pounding-pestle. The Tirunāmadhāri section, known also as *Desabhāgadavarū*, invite Sātānis to worship Chakra that night. This is attended with drinking as usual, but the Īdigas themselves take part in it.

Ten days is the period of *Sūtaka* (pollution) for the death of married persons, and three days for

unmarried persons and distant agnates. For daughter's children, only bathing is enjoined. The chief mourners abstain from milk and sugar, and do not put on their caste marks, and the other members of the caste refrain from eating in their houses during pollution. They make offerings to the ancestors generally on the *Māhālaya* New-Moon day and on the New Year's day, but they do not perform any anniversary *śrādhās* for the dead.

SOCIAL
STATUS.

The I'digas are of the eighteen *phanas* or the right-hand section, and their professional weapon, the spatula or scraper, is engraved on the bell and ladle carried by the *Chalavādi*, whose presence is necessary at all extraordinary ceremonies. Bellada I'digas were formerly a wandering tribe, and used to pitch their huts of date-leaves wherever they had the work of tapping trees and making jaggery. They are considered lower in status than Ūru I'digas, and in villages they generally live in a separate quarter. I'digas, as a class, occupy the same position as Bedas. The barber and the washerman give them their services without any demur. They may draw water from the common village well, but are allowed to enter only the outer parts of temples.

I'digas are more literate than other castes of the same status. Brāhmins are allowed to minister to them as priests, and are employed on marriage and other festive occasions. They are also called in to purify their houses after pollution of death. They have a Srivaishṇava Brāhman, known as Tātāchārya of Tirumale, as their *guru*, and some have *Sātani gurus* likewise. These are given money presents (generally a *hana*) and provisions whenever they visit their disciples; but they have no authority to enquire into caste disputes, unless their help is



DIGA DRAWING TODDY.

sought by the *yajaman* of the caste, to whom disputes are carried in the first instance.

They are meat-eaters, and use the flesh only of sheep, goats, fowls and fish. They do not take beef, the flesh of monkeys, snakes, etc. They are perfect teetotallers ; but the Bellada section are said to be not so particular. They do not consider themselves higher in status than those who indulge in drink, but attribute their abstinence to the injunction of their tribal deity. It is said that formerly they did not eat fowls, but now this abstinence is not observed.

DIETARY OF
THE CASTE.

There is nothing peculiar as regards their mode of dressing, men wearing the usual clothes such as short breeches, and turban. Their women do not use the bodice, though people living in towns have taken to this item of dress also. Women get tattooed between the ages of ten and twenty-five, the designs being similar to those used by other classes, except that of a toddy tree, which is peculiar to this class.

DRESS.

The I'dgias are of Telugu origin, and many of them still speak the same language. They are somewhat like the *Balijas*, but their occupation constitutes them into a distinct caste. They are toddy drawers, their hereditary occupation being the extraction of the juice of palm trees and distillation of spirits from it. The I'digas are polygamous. Their widows are permitted to marry again in the *kudike* form. They are mostly *Vaishnavas*. They are under the control of a headman called *Gauda* who presides over the caste disputes. They are prohibited from drinking spirituous liquor.

CONCLUSION.

IRALIGA OR IRULIGA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF OF THE TRIBE—
INTERNAL STRUCTURE—HABITATIONS—MARRIAGE CERE-
MONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY
AND DIVORCE—INHERITANCE—TRIBAL ORGANIZATION—
RELIGIOUS BELIEFS—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—
SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNA-
MENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUC- TION.

THE Iraligas are a jungle tribe, speaking a mixture of Canarese and Tamil. They are found in the districts of Mysore and Bangalore as also on the slopes of the Mysore side of the Nilgiris. In the Mysore plateau, they are known as the Chenchus.* Only the Iraligas of the Bangalore and Mysore districts are herein dealt with.

The tribe is known as Iraliga or Iruliga which is sometimes corrupted into Illigaru. The term Iraliga might have been derived from Irul (night), perhaps from their dark colour. Those living in and the neighbourhood of the Bangalore District prefer to call themselves *pūjaris* or *Kādu pūjaris*, probably on account of their worshipping silvan deities, such as Māstamma, Mūdalagiriappa or Mādamma. There is probably some connection between this tribe and Yeravāllas of the Coimbatore district.

* The Iraligas or Irulas are found in the districts of North Arcot, Chinglepet, South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore and the Nilgiris. In different localities, they go by different names. In the West North Arcot and on the Mysore plateau they are sometimes called Chenchus and Arava Yenādis, and in South Arcot the caste itself Ten-Vānniyans (honey Vānniyans) or Vana Pallis (forest Pallis). But the Nilgiris and the Mysore Irulas are distinct from any of these others, being far less civilized than any of them. In fact, they appear to be the jungle tribes of the plains some among them residing in villages and some on the lower elevations of the hills and in the forests of the plains. In this respect, they are like Ūru Bedas and Myasa Bedas.—*District Manuals of the North and South Arcot Districts.*

The story of theirs as given by them is that no one could be found to collect honey on account of the stinging of bees. The goddess was then prevailed upon to come to the rescue ; and she created a man out of the sweat of her body. This man who was provided with a crowbar, a flint and a scythe succeeded in the task allotted to him, as the bees flew away from every hive as he approached. The Iraligas who are his descendants, say, that the smell of the sweat of their bodies drives away the insects. If the bees persist in remaining in a hive when approached by an Iraliga, he has simply to pass his hand over his sweated brow to drive them away. It has been said that even wild beasts will scent Iraligas and fly before the aroma.*

ORIGIN OF
THE TRIBE.

After the *yuga pralayam*, the Villars (bowmen) or Irulans, Malayans and Vēdāns, supposed to be descendants of a Rishi under the influence of a malignant curse, were living in the forest in a state of nature, though they have now taken to some kind of covering, males putting on skins, and females stitched leaves. Roots, wild fruits and honey constitute their dietary, and cooked rice is always rejected even when gratuitously offered. They have no clear ideas about God, though they offer a wild variety of rice to the Goddess Kanniamma. The legend runs that a Rishi, Mala Rishi by name, seeing that these people were much bothered by wild beasts took pity on them, and for a time lived with them. He mixed freely with their women, and as the result, several children were born. To free them from these, the Rishi advised them to do *pūja* to Kanniamma. Several other Rishis were also believed to have lived freely in their midst, and as a result, several new castes arose, among which the Irulans belonged to one.*

TRADITION.

* *Mackenzie Oriental Manuscripts.*

Mr. Cox suggests that the Irulars are the representatives of the Kurumbas who fled to the jungles after defeat by Adondai, and that many of the forest tribes may be similarly accounted for.*

The Irulas belong to the Veddars or hunting people, whose expulsion from, or extermination in, the settled parts of India, is constantly recorded by traditions. Buchanan identifies the Eriligarus of Mysore with the Chensu, Chenju, or Chenji, existing in Kurnool and other districts, who seem to have been the most important of the wild tribes. They and their chiefs find frequent mention in the Mackenzie manuscripts. In Madura, according to the traditions of a Poligar family, they were able to ravage this country to the gates of the capital in the course of the last century. One of the Mackenzie manuscripts, however, describes the Irulas as a distinct and more peaceable tribe. At all events, there is no reason to suppose that they were ever anything but a jungle tribe, and it is needless to say they have no traditions of their own.

Some of the Iraligas in the Bangalore district say that their ancestors were the natives of the Nilgiri hills, and that when their descendants came to this country, they brought their gods Madamma, Yalamma, Bariamma and Maddūramma from that place; while other Iraligas of the same district say that they are settlers from the Anamalai forests.

Regarding the Iruligas, Buchanan remarks: "In this hilly tract there is a race of men called by other natives Cād Iriligarū, but who call themselves Cād Chensu. "The language of the Chensu is a dialect of Tamil with occasionally a few Karnata or Telinga words intermixed, but their accent is so different from that of Madras that my servants did not at

* *M. C. R.*, 1891, page 258.

first understand what they said. Their original country, they say, is the Anamalay forest below the Ghats which is confirmed by their dialect." *

The Iraligas are now found on the lower elevations of hills, as also in the forests of the plains. They live in small villages, and each village consists of about eight or ten huts with some pens for their goats. They are generally built in the form of a square in which they burn fire all night to keep away the tigers. The huts are very small, and are seldom neat. They are constructed of bamboos interwoven like basket-work and plastered with mud on both sides. Their articles of furniture and utensils are few, and consist of a few coarse mats and earthen vessels purchased from the markets, in the neighbourhood. In some places, Irulas and Kurumbars live together and their mode of life is identical.

HABITATIONS.

Endogamous groups.—The Iraligas have no endogamous groups.†

Exogamous clans.—Some Iraligas say that they have no exogamous clans, while others assert that their clans are named after their family gods, namely, Yellamma, Mariamma and Madamma. There are also others named after inanimate objects and trees, namely, Belli, Hittāle, the members of which do not use metals, but use *kanchu* instead. Chun-chiga, Banni and Churi are also other names of families.

Iraliga girls are generally married after puberty, but the members of the tribe who have come in

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

* *Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar.*

† In the South Arcot, the Irulas have two endogamous groups, namely 1. Vangu Irulas, (those that have settled down in villages) Kadu Irulas (those that live in forests).—*South Arcot District Manual.*

contact with the higher castes of the plains have begun to marry their girls before they come of age. In conjugal relations, they always avoid close relationship on the father's side, but a young man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. Girls are exchanged in marriage between two families. Polygamy is practised, but polyandry is unknown. Girls to whom husbands cannot be found are married to trees, swords or the like.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

The marriage ceremonies of the Iruligas are very simple. They consist in eloping with an adult girl to jungle and remaining there for a day or some longer period. After their return to the village, a fowl or an animal is killed in honour of the event, and the caste people are fed. On the same day, the husband ties the marriage string containing the marriage badge (*tāli*) round the neck of his wife. Until this is done, the husband is not admitted into the tribe. But children born between the date of elopement and the date on which the *tāli* is tied, are not considered illegitimate. Of late, however, some of the Iruligas have copied the marriage ceremonies of their more civilised neighbours, such as Okkaligas. They erect a booth with the milk-post and worship the *arivēni* pots on the first day of marriage. On the second day, *dhāre* ceremony is gone through after which *tāli* is tied. On the third day, the feeding of the tribesmen completes the ceremonies. The marriages are generally celebrated during nights.

The Iruligas are said to pay the bride a sum varying from four to five rupees. This amount is given when the girl remains with her husband on the marriage seat. Two rupees are said to be the amount paid by the man to the widow whom he marries. As it is a large amount for them, it is paid in several instalments.

In some places, the following marriage customs are observed. There are no early betrothals. The bridegroom has to present new clothes to the bride and his future father-in-law and mother-in-law. The cloth given to the latter is called *pal-kuli* (milk money) for having nursed the bride. Marriage is celebrated on any day except Saturday. A very modest feast in proportion to their slender means is held, and toddy also is provided if the state of the finances can afford it. Towards evening the bride and bridegroom stand in front of the house and the latter ties the *tāli* which consists of a bead necklace with a round brass disc.

The following marriage custom is also in vogue among the Irulans of the plains. Both infant and adult marriages are practised. It is necessary that the two front posts of the marriage pandal should have twelve twigs of the *pala* tree tied to them. The happy pair have to fetch a basket full of mud from an ant-hill and place it beneath these twigs. The binding part of the ceremony is said to consist in the woman's smoking the bridegroom's cheroot or eating out of the same dish with him. Divorced women may marry again.

When a girl attains her age, she is kept in a place at a distance of a stone's throw from the settlement from seven to thirty days. In the subsequent menses, she is kept aloof for three days with another woman as companion. After the period of pollution, she becomes purified by a bath. In some places, they imitate the ceremonies prevalent among the Okkaligas.

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

Widows are allowed to remarry under *kudike* form any number of times, and the ceremonies connected therewith are confined to a single day. A bachelor

WIDOW
MARRIAGE.

is allowed to marry a widow, but her deceased husband's brothers are prohibited from marrying her. Except the prohibition that the remarried widow should not handle a *kalasa* in the regular marriage ceremonies, no disabilities are attached to her or her issue by her remarriage. The man who marries a widow ties the *tali* round the neck of the woman and feeds the tribesmen. It is said in such a remarriage women, whose husbands are alive, take part in the ceremonies.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

A divorce can be obtained at the pleasure of either party, and is evidenced by taking back the *tāli* given to the woman. If a married woman is found living with a stranger, she can be divorced, and is allowed to marry her paramour in the *kudike* form, in the event of his paying the marriage expenses of her former husband, and feeding the tribesmen. If the husband of a woman who elopes with another likes to live with her, he may retain her also by feeding the tribesmen. If the paramour of a married or unmarried woman is a man of the same or higher caste, she is married to him. If he is of an inferior caste, she is excommunicated.

BIRTH CEREMONIES.

A woman who has given birth to a child remains in a corner of the house or in a cave or under the shade of a tree. Her stay in this place is of very short duration, because among them such women immediately after parturition attend to their business, carrying the new born babe in their arms. They scarcely call a midwife to attend on them. Many of them do not observe any ceremony for naming the child, but simply call the babe after the names of their family gods or ancestors; while others on the day of purification renew their old pots, and give the child a name. The period of

pollution for the birth of a child varies from three to twelve days, some observing no pollution at all.

The following are some of their typical names:—

<i>Males.</i>				<i>Females.</i>			
Bira	Bargi.		
Bariya	Bairi.		
Mutta	Mutti.		
Kempa	Kempi.		
Chaka	Madi.		
Gente	Kemmarai		
Uduguda	Masani.		

No titles are affixed to the end of their names by Iraligas of this country. Nicknames indicate the colour and nature of the body and similar characteristics.

They generally have little or no property to pass on to their heirs. Their property, real and personal, if any, is divided among the sons, with the exception of the dwelling house, which, with the responsibility of the charge of the female minors, goes to the eldest son in addition to his share.

INHERITANCE.

Several settlements form a *kattemane* (a division) presided over by a *yajaman* or *gauda*. Such *kattemanes* are found in places at Magadi, Huliur and Closepet. The *yajaman* is assisted by a Kolkar whose name implies, that he is the servant of the caste. When the *yajaman* holds an enquiry or when a marriage takes place, he gets five *hanas* (4 annas eight pies) and the Kolkar gets one *hana*.

TRIBAL ORGANISATION.

Their idea of religion is very vague. They may be said to be animists, as they consider tiger as their visible deity; they worship even its foot-prints. If a tiger eats an Iraliga, a curse will befall the world.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

The Iraligas in the Bangalore district worship Siva ; but they have a greater respect for the small-pox goddess Mariamma worshipped in the form of a stone set up beneath a tree in the forest. The other gods and goddesses, namely, Mudlagiriappa, Doddagollappa, Muttaraya, Thimmaraya, Yelemukkadu, Madamma, Bairamma, Mari, Yallamma, are also worshipped. They set up seven pieces of quartz on a bed of sand in the jungle and besmear them with red white stripes and offer to them incense and fruits. A sheep is also sacrificed to them, if this offer is approved of by the god, the approval being inferred by the animal shaking its head. They wait till it does so. They worship snakes near ant-hills. They also worship their tribal deities Kārayya and Mādeswara once a year after collecting their harvest. They also perform the ceremony of fire-walking (*Konda*) once a year. They believe in oracles and in the existence of devils, and are credited with the power of charming tigers to obedience.

In connection with the shrine on Rangaswami peak, the following note is recorded in the *Gazetteer of the Nilgiris*. "It is the most sacred hill on all the plateau. Hindu legend says that the god Rangaswāmi used to live at Kāraimadai on the plains between Mēttupālaiyam and Coimbatore, but quarrelled with his wife, and so came and lived here alone. In proof of the story, two foot-prints on the rock not far from Arakod village below the peak are pointed out. This, however, is probably an invention designed to save the hill folk, the toilsome journey to Rangaswami's car festival at Kāraimadai, which used once to be considered incumbent upon them. In some places, the Badagas and Kotas have gone even further, and established Rangaswami Bettus of their own, handy for their own particular villages. On the real Rangaswami

peak are two rude walled enclosures sacred to the god Ranga and his consort, and within these are votive offerings (chiefly iron lamps and the notched sticks used as weighing machines), and two stones to represent the deities. The hereditary *pujāri* is an Irula, and, on the day fixed by the Badagas for the annual feast, he arrives from his hamlet near Nandipuram, bathes in a pool below the summit, and marches to the top shouting 'Goinda! Govinda!' The cry is taken up with wild enthusiasm by all those present, and the whole crowd, which includes Badagas, Irulas, and Kurumbas, surrounds the enclosures, while the Irula priest invokes the deities by blowing his conch and beating his drum, and pours oblations over, and decorates with flowers, the two stones which represent them. That night, two stone basins on the summit are filled with ghee and lighted, and the glare is visible for miles around. The ceremonies close with prayers for good rain and fruitfulness among the flocks and herds, a wild dance by the Irula, and the boiling of much rice in milk (called *pongal*), the same word as *pongal* in Tamil (agricultural feast). About a mile from Arakod is an overhanging rock called the *kodai-kal* or umbrella stone, under which is found a whitish clay. This clay is used by the Irulas for making the Vaishṇava marks on their foreheads at this festival." *

When commencing the agricultural operations, they place a plough near an ant-hill, and offer it incense and a piece of new cloth.

The methods of the disposal of the dead vary in different parts. Some cremate the dead body, while others bury it in a pit or under a heap of stones

FUNERAL
CUSTOMS.

* Description of a singular aboriginal race inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills.

called *kallu-seve* or sometimes so expose it as to be devoured by vultures and wild beasts. In some places, after death, men and women get up a funeral concert outside the hut of the deceased who is then buried cross-legged tailorwise, each in his own village cemetery, and in his own clothes and jewellery with a new cloth, a lamp and some grain thrown in to help him along in shadow land. Lepers are always buried under a heap of stones. The body is carried in a bier, placing the corpse down on the way to exchange their places, front to the rear and *vice versa*. In token of this, the corpse bearers and the followers, each place, a stone called *hindamandala gudda*. In some places, such stones grow into a heap. The burial is accompanied with little or no ceremonies. Where *kallu-seve* is practised, the body is allowed to rest against a protruding stone, and small pebbles or stones are also placed. The chief mourner and others who accompany him to the burial or burning ground return home and look at a burning lamp in the place of the deceased. Nothing is said to be buried with the dead body; but over the grave some quantity of rice and fried Bengal gram are thrown probably to appease the hunger of the deceased. An earthen pot is broken near the grave during the ceremonies. The son who is the chief mourner has to shave his head on the twelfth day, on which he and his relatives repair to the grave, offer incense, rice balls, and sacrifice a goat. The earthen pots and other utensils are renewed. His wife is not required to remove the *tāli*, but in the event of her intention to marry another, she has to return it to the relatives of her husband. Some do not observe pollution, but others observe it for eleven days. The pollution terminates with feast to the tribesmen. Once a year each family celebrates a feast in memory of their deceased parents. It is



TWO IRULIGAS PRODUCING FIRE BY FRICTION.

said that in Huliyaadurga the tribe decamp and settle elsewhere, probably afraid of the spirit of the dead.

The Iraligas living on hill-slopes and in the forests of the plains engage themselves chiefly in gathering honey and collecting forest produce. Honey-gathering is their speciality. Where the hive is of smaller variety (*kirijenu*), they merely remove the comb without any trouble. But invariably they smoke out the bees before they approach the hives. Where the hive is in an inaccessible part or on a precipitous rock they either erect a scaffold or lead down a cane ladder from the rock. In this respect their method is precisely similar to that of the Kādars of the Cochin forests.* It is believed that a man in pollution cannot go for honey-gathering, lest he might be attacked and stung by the bees. In ordinary cases, the bees fly away at the smell of these people. The month of *Ashād* (May-June) is favourable for gathering honey from the bees of the larger type. The honey of the smaller bees is said to be superior to that of the larger ones (*jungle bee-hive*) both in taste and in medicinal virtues. Both honey and forest-produce are sold to the contractors who advance them money with which they purchase rice, salt, ganja, tobacco, clothes and other necessary articles, clothes, and ornaments for their women. They serve as day-labourers under the Forest Department, in collecting timber and get their daily wages. Very few are cultivators, and fewer still those who own lands. Those that cultivate adopt the *kumri* method.† The Iraligas who dwell in villages work as labourers or as serfs under prosperous raiyats for food, dress, and a small money-payment. It is their usual custom to take advances from their

OCCUPATION.

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*: Vol. I, Chap. I, pages 15-16.

† *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*: Vol. II, pages 79-85.

masters which are rarely discharged, and continue for generations. The debt with the labourers is sometimes transferred to new masters. In this respect, they are like the agrestic serfs of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.* The Iraligas are good hunters. They trap wild fowls in nets, and this adds to their stock of animal good. They fish in rivers, and smaller streams by poisoning water. They also kill tigers in spring traps, loaded with stones and baited with a goat or dog.

In this connection, the account given by Capt. Harkness regarding their mode of life may be found to be interesting:—"By the sale of the produce of the forests, such as wood, honey, bees wax, or of the fruits of their gardens by those who take little pains to cultivate them, they are enabled to buy grain for immediate subsistence and for seed; but as they never pay any attention to the land after it is sown, or, indeed, to its preparation further than partially clearing away the jungle and turning it up with the hoe, or what is more common, scratching it into furrows with a stick, and scattering the seed indiscriminately, their crops are, of course, stunted and meagre. When the corn is ripe, if at any distance from the village, the family to which the patch belongs will remove to it, and constructing temporary dwellings, remain there as long as the grain lasts. Each morning they pull up as much as they think they will require for that day, kindle a fire on the nearest large stone or fragment of rock, and when it is well heated, brush away the embers and set the grain upon it, which soon becoming parched and dry, is thence rudely reduced to meal. This part of the process over, or as soon as the rock has cooled, the parched grain, which in

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*: Vol. I, Chap. V, page 90.

the meantime has been partially cleansed from the husk, is with the assistance of a smaller stone rubbed into meal, mixed up with water, and made into cakes. The stone is now heated a second time, and the cakes are put on it to bake ; or when they meet a stone which has a little concavity, they will, after heating it a second time, fill the hollow with water, with which when warmed, they mix up the meal and form a sort of porridge. In this way, the whole of the family, their friends and neighbours, will live till the grain has been consumed ; and it seems to be considered among them as superlative meanness to reserve any, either for seed or future nourishment. This period is a merry-making time ; they invite all who may be passing by, to partake of the produce of their field, and join in their festivities. These families will now be invited to live on the fields of their neighbours, and when the whole of the grain of the village has thus been consumed, and this, at best, is generally but a small quantity, they have again to trust to the precarious subsistence which the produce of the forests or their gardens yield."

The Iraligas are no longer nomadic, and have begun to settle in villages as in Kānkanhalli. The jungle tribes all over India have not come under the category of any of the Hindu castes, and have not been treated in any of the treatises on castes. They are known as *Kāttu Nīchanmar* (aborigines of the forests), as distinguished from *Nāttu Nīchanmar* (aborigines of the country or plains), who are mainly the agrestic serfs. The forests in many parts of India are denuded, and these denizens of the forests are not able to live in their pristine habits. Owing to the scarcity of food in their own habitat, they descend to the lower elevations of hills, and sometimes

SOCIAL
STATUS.

to the plains in the vicinity of the hills or villages, where they come in contact with the members of the very low castes, and very often assert their superiority. Hence their social status cannot be accurately determined. It is said that they do not eat the food of the goldsmiths, Komaties and Devangas. In the plains they are classed as untouchables, and yet they are served by the village barber and washerman.

**DIETARY
OF THE
IRALIGAS.**

The staple food of the Iraligas consists of all varieties of yams and edible roots gathered by their women with the aid of their digging stick. They eat the flesh of deer, porcupine, monkey, cat, jackal, jungle fowl and other birds of the forests. Liquor was not formerly indulged in, but they now resort to it. They do not eat the food of the Holeyas and Mādigas. In some places, the latter eat their food. It is the belief of these children of the forests, that the forests are given to them as their habitat, and that they are enjoined to keep them pure and sacred, because of the existence of all their gods. Any violation of their purity and sanctity will cause the visitation of all kinds of fever, small-pox, cholera and the like.

**APPEARANCE,
DRESS,
ORNAMENTS.**

The Irulas, as their name indicates (*Irul*-black) is the darkest of the hill tribes of Southern India. They possess the negroid traits (short stature, flat nose, and prominent cheek bones, curly or wavy hair, and narrow foreheads). At one time, these poor people went absolutely naked, slept under trees, possessed the power of charming tigers so as to prevent those ferocious animals from doing them any injury.* But now the males are scantily dressed.

* Buchanan : *A journey from Madras through Madras, Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, page 462.

Like the Kadars of the Cochin forests, they are fond of wearing shirts and coats when they can afford. They keep locks of hair on the head, unshaved; but some shave their head and face. The ordinary dress of the Iraliga women is a body-cloth of striped cotton worn straight across the breasts and reaching below the knees with a print cotton cloth over their shoulders, and tied into a knot in front, the long crisp or wavy hair falling in heavy masses on both sides of the head without any parting in the middle.

The following account of an Irula temple festival is given by Harkness.* "The hair of the men, as well as of the women and children, was bound up in a fantastic manner with wreaths of plaited straw. Their necks, ears, and ankles were decorated with ornaments formed of the same material, and they carried little dried gourds, in which nuts or small stones had been inserted. They rattled them as they moved, and, with the rustling of their rural ornaments, gave a sort of rhythm to their motion. The dance was performed in front of a little thatched shed, which, we learnt, was their temple. When it was concluded, they commenced a sacrifice to their deity, or rather deities, of a he-goat and three cocks. This was done by cutting the throats of the victims, and throwing them down at the feet of the idol, the whole assembly at the same time prostrating themselves. Within the temple, there was a winnow, or fan, which they called Mahri—evidently the emblem of Ceres; and at a short distance, in front of the former, and some paces in advance one of the other, were two rude stones, which they call, the one Moshāni, the other Konadi Mari, but which are subordinate to the fan occupying the interior of the temple."

* *Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Nilgiri Hills, 1832.*

CONCLUSION.

The Iraligas are a jungle tribe found in the Bangalore district, as also on the borders of the Nilgiris and Mysore. They are also found in most of the districts of the Madras Presidency. They have no endogamous groups. In some localities their marriage ceremonies are simple. Where they live in contact with the lower castes of the plains, they have imbibed their customs. Widow marriage is allowed. They have their tribal organization and their headman is a Gauda. They are animists, worshipping all kinds of demons, the chief of whom is the small-pox demon to whom they pay periodical offerings. They are skilful in tree-climbing and are collectors of forest produce, especially honey-gathering. Some among them begin to take to *kumri* cultivation.



A PANORAMIC VIEW OF SRAVANABELGOLA.

JAIN.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY—JAIN MIGRATION TO THE SOUTH—DISTRIBUTION OF JAINS IN MYSORE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE—MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS—MARRIAGE RITES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—PREGNANCY RITES—CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH DELIVERY AND CHILDBIRTH—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES: JĀTHAKARMAM, NAMING, FEEDING, TONSURE, TEACHING THE ALPHABET—INITIATION (UPANAYANAM)—FAMILY LIFE—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—RELIGION: DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE JAIN SECTS—DISTINCTIVE TENETS AND PRACTICES—JAIN ARCHITECTURE, JAIN TEMPLES—ROUTINE OF PŪJAS IN A DIGAMBARA TEMPLE, SWETAMBARA WORSHIP—SCRIPTURE READING—DOMESTIC WORSHIP, FEASTS AND FESTIVALS—MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS—JAIN MYTHOLOGY—JAIN ASCETIC INITIATION, DAILY ROUTINE OF ASCETICS—FEMALE ASCETICS FIVE GREAT VOWS OF ASCETICS—DIFFERENT GRADES OF ASCETICS—ĀCHARYA—SIDDHA—THIRTY-FOUR RULES OF CONDUCT—JAIN LITERATURE—FUNERAL CUSTOMS, SALLEKHANA—OCCUPATION, ROUTINE DIETARY, PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS, APPEARANCE—DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

THE Jains form a small section of the population of India. They are chiefly found in the Gujarat districts, States of Cutch and Kathiawar, and in small numbers at Bhatal, Murdeshvar, Kumta, Sonola, Banrasi, Mundgod and in Canara, Dharwar and the Mysore State. They are a more important and influential community than their number would denote. The Jains of Mysore are herein dealt with.

INTRODUCTION.

The word '*Jain*' is derived from the Sanskrit '*ji*' to conquer. Hence it signifies 'conqueror.' The Āgamas of the Jains trace their origin to Rishabheswara, the sixth in descent from Brahma who

ORIGIN AND
EARLY
HISTORY.

set an example of ascetic life to his people, and whose nine sons led a similar life from their boyhood. His eldest son and Emperor, Bharata, after whom India was called Bhāratavarsha, also led a sage's life after retirement. He set an example to others by his renouncement from worldly affairs, and this attracted a large number of followers. The movement received additional impetus from strong-willed ascetics like Pārśvanāth, a historical person who was said to have been born near Benares to Kshatriya parents, Visvasēna and Vāmadēvi. He married Prabhāvati, and became an ascetic at thirty. He practised austerity for 80 days when he gained perfect wisdom. Once while engaged in devotion, his enemy Kāmāth disturbed him by causing rain to fall on him. Dharanidhara, the Nāga-king was said to have sheltered him from rain with his hood spread like an umbrella, and from this the place was called Ahichchakra (the snake-umbrella). He left a large number of followers, and died at the age of 100 in 776 B.C. on the top of Samet Shikar, somewhere near Hazaribag in Western Bengal.* He made four vows, not to take life, not to lie, not to steal, not to own property.

It has been also held that the real founder of Jainism is Mahāvīra who is called Vardhamāna. He was born about the middle of the sixth century B.C., in the line of Ikshvāku to Prince Siddhārtha and Trisala at Chithrakūda or Kundagrām, perhaps the modern Chithrakot, a great place of pilgrimage, 72 miles west of Allahabad. He married Yesōda, daughter of Samaravīra, and had by her a daughter called Priyadarsana, who became the wife of Jamālī his nephew and pupil. At thirty he too took to

* Parasyanāth is the name of a hill, and a sacred place of the Jains in the Hazaribagh District of Chota Nagpur. Mrs. Sinclair, "The History of Jainism," Chap. IV, pages 48-49.

austerities, and continued for twelve years and a half, eleven of which were spent in fasting. He was robeless and had no vessel of any kind except his hand. He conquered his senses and became a *Jina* (conqueror), *Arhāt* (respectable), for it is believed that a conqueror of the senses is the conqueror of the world. He preached at Pavana, and was made Tirthāṅkara* to add greatness by antiquity. Rishaba was called the first saint, and mentioning 21 saints, the Āgama makes Pārśvanāth the twenty fourth and the last saint as the object of worship for the people, for they had no god, but had a soul for each person. Mahāvīra and Buddha had many points of similarities between them. Both were Kshatriyas: both preached in the same place, Bihar and Tirhut, at the same time. Mahāvīra was a little older than Buddha, and is mentioned in the Buddhist annals as Nataputta (Jñātiputra—a cousin), and Nigrāntha (one without passions and desires of the heart) by the side of Buddha. Mahāvīra maintained that men could become omniscient and free, i.e., God, as he did. Many including the Brāhmins became his converts, and founded several schools in various centres. Indrabhūti or Gautama was an important disciple. Mahāvīra continued to teach at Kausāmbi and Rājagriha which were under the kings of Sasānka. He died at Pavana in the seventy-second year of his age at Apapuri in South Bihar between 663 and 526 B.C. It was from the date of his death that the Jain era was reckoned. This traditional date corresponds to 527 B.C. Jainism took its present form only from the

* One who has made or founded the four thirthis or orders namely, 1. Sādhu or monk, 2. Sādhvi or nun, 3. Sravaka or lay-brother, 4. Sravaki or lay-sister. These four thirthis are four boats that will infallibly carry the passengers they bear unto the desired heaven of deliverance (*moksha*). Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, Introduction, page 16.

time of Mahāvīra, although the state of India at his time was made fit for receiving such missions by the preceding conditions of India.*

But the Jains entertain quite a different view of their origin. According to their belief, the Jain religion is eternal, and it has been revealed again and again in every one of the endless succeeding periods of the world by innumerable Tirthāṅkaras. In the present *avasarpini* period, the first Tirthāṅkara was Rishbha, and the last, the 24th, was Vardhamāna. The name, signs and colours of the 24 Tirthāṅkaras are given below.† All Tirthāṅkaras have reached Nirvāṇa at their death. Though they were released from the world, they neither cared for, nor had any influence on worldly affairs. They have nevertheless become the object of worship, and are regarded as the "gods" or (*devas*) by the Jains. Temples are erected where their idols are worshipped. The favourite Tirthāṅkaras are the first and the three last ones, but the temples of the remaining ones are also met with. The worship of the idols of the Tirthāṅkaras is also mentioned in some of their canonical works; but no rules for their worship are given. It was however in full sway in the first centuries of the Christian era as evidenced by the Paumachārya, the oldest *Prakrit Kāvya* of the Jains, and by the statues of Tirthāṅkaras found in ancient sites as in the Kankalli mounds at Mathura which belong to that period. Some sects however, especially, a section of the Svēthāmbaras the Dundhia or Sthānakavāsins reject the worship altogether. It is clear that the Tirthāṅkaras except the last two, belong to mythology rather than to

* Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson : *The Heart of Jainism*, Chap. III, pages 21-47.

† *Digambara Jain Iconography* : *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII, page 459.

history. The 22nd Aristanemi is connected with the legend of Krishna as his relative. But the canonical books may be regarded on the whole as historical facts.

The notions of the Jains about the ages of the world are to a certain extent similar to those of the Hindus, and Buddhists and yet curiously different from them. "The Jainas liken time to a wheel with twelve spokes, the descending half of which is called *avasarpini* period, and the ascending half *utsarpini*. Each half is divided into six Ages (era). The eras in *avasarpini* are the following: (1) *susamausama*, the duration of which is 400,000,000,000,000 of oceans of years; (2) *susama*, 300 billion of oceans of years; (3) *susamadusama*, 200 billion of oceans of years; (4) *dusamadusamai*, 100 billions of oceans of years, less 42,000 common years; (5) *dusama*, 21,000 years; *dusamadusa* likewise 21,000 years. The same ages recur in the *Utsarpini* period but in a reversed order."*

The names, signs and colours of the 24 Tirthānkaras are monarchs (*chakravartins*) of nine Vāsudevas, 9 Baladevas, and 9 Prativāsudevas who lived within the period from the first to the 22nd Tirthānkara. Together with Tirthankaras they are the 63 great personages of Jain history; the legends of their lives form the subject of their great epic by Hemachandra which is based on older sources, probably *Vāsudevanidhi*.†

The following are the names of the Tirthankaras :—

1.	Risbha or Vrishabha	.. Bull	.. Golden
2.	Ajitanātha	.. Elephant	.. Do
3.	Sēmbhava	.. Horse	.. Do
4.	Abhinandana	.. Ape	.. Do
5.	Sumati	.. Heron	.. Do
6.	Padmaprabha	.. Lotus flower	Red.
7.	Supārsva	.. The Swastika	Golden.
8.	Chandraprabha	.. Moon	.. White.
9.	Suvidhi (or pushpadanta)	Dolphin	.. White.
10.	Sitala	.. Srivatsa	.. Golden.
11.	Sreyamsa or sriyan	.. Rhinoceros	.. Do
12.	Vasupujya	.. Buffalo	.. Red.
13.	Ananta or Anantajit	.. Falcon	.. Golden.
14.	Vimala	.. Hog	.. Do
15.	Dharma	.. Thunderbolt	Do

* E. R. E., Vol. I, page 202.

† L. Rice : Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, page 464.

16.	Santi	..	..	Antelope	..	Golden.
17.	Kunthu	..	..	Goat	..	Do
18.	Aranātha	..	..	Nandyvartha	..	Do
19.	Mali	..	..	Jar	..	Blue.
20.	Suvrata (or Munisuvrata)	....				Golden.
21.	Nami	..	..	Lotus	..	Do
22.	Nemi or Aristenemi	..	..	Conch shell	..	Black.
23.	Parswa	..	..	Snake	..	Blue.
24.	Vardhamana	..	..	Lion	..	Golden.*

**JAIN MIGRA-
TION TO
THE SOUTH.**

The Jains of Mysore have a history of their own from the time of their migration under their teacher Srutakevali Bhadrabahu † and settlement near Sravanabelagola.

All Tirthankaras were Kshatriyas. Mythological history of the Jains relate to the legends of 12 universals at Belgola in the Hassan district in the third century B.C. The majority of their first comers were Digambaras, while the recent immigrants were Svētāmbaras from Rajputana. According to Mr. Rice, the Jains appeared in the Carnatic about the same time as the Buddhists, that is, in the third century before Christ. The Jain faith was predominant in the Carnatic during the early centuries after Christ. It suffered from the attacks of the Kongu or Chera kings in the third or the fourth century, and again in the eighth century from the success of Sankarāchārya and from the introduction of Northern Brāhmans by Mayuravarma of Bānavāsi. From the eighth to the eleventh century, the Kālachurya chiefs of Huncha in North-West Mysore and until 1117 or 1132 the Ballalas of Dwārasamudra in West Mysore, favoured the Jains. The conversion

* Bhadrabāhu, the last Srutakevali, led a great Jain migration from the North to the South. After staying sometime at Chandragiri hill, he died there. Chandragupta of the Māryan greatness, himself a Jain, went to the same place with the Acharya, and after serving there for 13 years, died there. (*Studies in South Indian Jainism*, page 23.)

† Mrs. S. Stevenson: *The Heart of Jainism*, page 312.

to Vaishnavism of the great Ballala chief Vishṇu Vardhan (1117-1137) was a severe blow to the upland Jains, and their power was further impaired in the fourteenth century by the rise of the Lingayet faith at Kalyan. The coast Jains seem to have escaped this loss of power, for according to the Arab historian Rashid-ud-din, in 1290, all the Hindus of the Malabar coast from Sintakula or Sindabur to Quilon were Samanis or Jains. Both the Vijayanagar dynasties of (1330-1480) and (1480-1560) though not Jains, were friendly to them. After the fall of Vijayanagar in (1565), the South Canara, the Gersoppa and Bhatkal chiefs continued to be Jains till their overthrow by Venkatappa Naik of Bednore about 1600, and in the south the Sonda chiefs remained Jains till Sadāshiv was converted to the Lingayet faith in the latter part of the seventeenth century. In the south, the Bednore conquerors almost exterminated the Jains. At present, the chief Karnatak seats of the Jain faith are in Mysore at Sravan Belgola, Maleyur and Huncha.*

In the Bombay Presidency, the Jains are largely found in the districts of Belgaum, Dharwar and North Canara. Their chief centres in the Presidency of Madras are South Canara, South Arcot and North Arcot.

Of the Jains of the North Arcot District, Mr. H. A. Stuart writes :—"More than half of them are found in the Wandiwash Taluk, the rest in Arcot and Polur. Their existence is explained by the fact that a Jain dynasty ruled for many years at Conjeevaram. At one time, they must have been numerous as their temples and sculptures are found in many places from which they have now disappeared."†

* *Bombay Gazetteer* : Vol. XV, Part I, page 229. L. Rice : *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pages 433-464.

† *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District*

Concerning the Jains of the South Arcot District, F. W. Francis writes:—The Jain faith was very powerful in the district. Periya Puranam says that there was once a Jain monastery, and college at Pātaliputra, the old name for Tirupapuliyur and remains of Jain images and sculptures are very common in the district. The decline in the Jain faith was owing to the revival of the Saivite faith. Madura was also a centre of the Jains in South India. The Madras Presidency, says late Gopinath Rao, discloses traces of Jain dominion almost everywhere, and on many a roadside, a stone Tirthānkara may be seen either standing or sitting cross-legged.*

DISTRIBUTION OF THE JAINS IN MYSORE.

According to the Census of 1921, the Jains of Mysore numbered 14,000, 7,473 being males, 6,527 females. Tumkur, Shimoga and Bangalore have a large majority of the population.

HABITATIONS.

The houses and furniture of the Jains are similar to those of the members of other castes which call for no special notice here.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE.

The two main classes of the Jains are the Digambaras (sky-clad) and the Svētambaras (white-robed), the former being considered superior to the latter. Originally, the followers of Parsvanāth who wore white clothes were called Svētambaras; and those of Mahavīra who wore no clothes were known as Digambaras (sky-clad). The principal divisions of each sect are given below. Among the Svētambaras, the Math authorities say that there are four other divisions of Jains:—

(1) Indras or priests, who are Brāhmins:—
(Karnāṭaka, Drāvida, Kaulā).

* *Gazetteer of the South Arcot District.*

(2) Bhōgaras, who are Kshatriyas and who engage themselves as traders in vessels.

(3) Panchamas, who are Vaisyās, and are of good conduct, observing the moral tenets.

(4) Chathurthās, who are styled Satsūdras (good Sūdras), and are mostly cultivators.

These four classes are said to correspond to the four main castes of the Hindus. The first class call themselves Brāhmans, study the Jain Āgamas, and become *archaks* and priests. They are styled Indrās. The cultivators are called Gadde Jainas, and no priests are raised from them. The priesthood descends from father to son and co-exists with family life, *grahasthāsrama*. The priests live by gifts and income from their teaching. They preside over all auspicious and inauspicious (funeral) ceremonies. They are respected by all, and bless them in return. There are astronomers and astrologers among them. They form an intermediate class between the *Yatis* (ascetics) and the *Sravakas* (laymen). Though they may eat with the laymen of their own caste, they do not intermarry with them. The *archaks* find it difficult to get suitable brides for their sons, and they therefore pay a bride-price. The caste system is a purely social institution among the Jains, so that each person retains the caste incidental to birth, but observes the religious and moral tenets. The Math authorities say further that this social condition was brought about by Rishbheswara, the first Tirthānkara and was firmly established by his son, the emperor Bharata. Men of the three higher classes can rise to the order of Yati from whatever stage of life they may happen to be in.

It is said that there are 360 *gōtras* among the GOTRAS. Jains, but only 24 are chiefly found to be in vogue among them. They are:—Nirvana, Sāgara,

Mahasadhu, Vimalaprabha, Sridhara, Sanmati, Amalaprabha, Vrudhara, Sanmati, Kusamanjali, Sivagñāna, Utsaha, Jñāneswara, Vimalēswara, Yasodhara, Jñānamati, Sribhadra, Atikranta, Santa, Angira, and Krishna. These *gōtras* are said to have existed from the beginning of time, and after the incarnation of Rishabhaswāmy, the Tirthānkaras gave their names to the *gōtras*. The Jains hope that 24 more Thirthānkaras will come into existence, and they will give rise to 24 more *gōtras*. These *gōtras* form the endogamous divisions as in other castes. The following *gōtras* are also current among them, and they are, Gautama, Vasista, Kāsyapa, Ātrēya, Bharadwāja, Kaundinya, Kundinya.

The *gōtras* were not purely Brahmanical institutions, and this is borne out by the sacred writings of the Jains. Mahāvira, the founder of the sect, like Buddha, a member of the Kshatriya caste—the feudal aristocracy belonged to the Kāsyapa *gōtra*. Siddhārtha, his father, belonged to the Kāsyapa *gōtra*. Suparswa, his paternal uncle, Nandivardhana, his eldest brother, and Sudarśana, his sister were likewise Kāsyapas. On the other hand, Trisala, the mother of Mahāvira, was of the Vasistha *gōtra*, Yesōda, his wife a Kaundinya, while his daughter after marriage, passed into her husband's *gōtra*. Her daughter and grand-child belonged to the Kausika *gōtra*. Thus the tradition of the Jains likewise leads us to infer that the Kshatriya family set as high a value upon *gōtras* as the Brāhmins, and they observed the injunction against marriage within the *gōtra*. The family of Mahāvira was not connected either by *gōtra* or *pravara* with two families with which they intermarried. It was also the custom in those days to address a person by his *gōtra*.*

* Jacobi; *Jaina Sūtras*.

Marriage cannot take place between Digambaras and Svētambaras. The Jain Brāhmans and Jain Kshatriyas interdine, and if they are of different *gōtras*, they also intermarry as their *ācharas* (customs) are identical. The Vaisyas marry among themselves. The Sat-Sudras interdine, and intermarry in different *gōtras*. They do not exchange girls between families. A man cannot marry two sisters at the same time. Nor can a man marry the daughter of his mother's sisters, either elder or younger. In this connection, it is interesting to note that daughters of maternal uncle and paternal aunt are married, and those who are addressed with such names as mother, sister, daughter, mother-in-law, and daughter-in-law come under the list of prohibitions. It follows therefore that the avoidance of girls for marriage within seven generations from the father and five generations from the mother, is a later rule based upon marriage restrictions. Further, the distinction between the domestic rites of the Brāhmans and those of the Jains consists in the fact that, while the *mantras* which are used in the Brahmanic rites, have no bearing on them, those of the Jains are so composed in the Pali or Sanskrit language that they clearly convey the meaning of what is intended to be signified by the rites. The chief interest of the rite lies in the moral training which its performance is expected to bring home to the mind of the performer. It is a training in the final spiritual life which the performer is expected to follow later on.

Girls are married before they come of age, i.e., between seven and ten. The girls have no voice in the choice of their husbands. It is generally the parents that are responsible for the selection of husbands. The form of marriage is Brahmi. *Vara-dakshina* (bridegroom's price) is paid according to the qualification of the bridegroom-elect.

MARRIAGE
RITES.*

The Jains like the Brāhmins perform the 16 *samskaras* or sacraments, preliminary to the performance of which two important ceremonies are performed. They are (1) Nāndi *homa* and (2) *griha-yagña*. The former is an auspicious ceremony and is performed in three ways. Some Brāhmins may be asked to confer blessings upon the person performing the Nāndi, and rewarded with rice and other articles necessary for a day's meal. Or Brāhmins may be asked to perform oblations into the fire kindled for the purpose, and may be sumptuously fed or the family priest or any other well-known priest may offer oblations into the fire and bless the person who is going to perform any of the sixteen rites. The *homa* is usually performed thus :—

In the centre of the hall of the house of the person in question, a priest draws a square, the side of which measures about a yard and paints it with red colour. He spreads over the square surface coloured rice and draws four straight lines East to West and also North to South. At each of the eight quarters, North-East, East, South-East, South, South-West, West, North-West and North, he draws a lotus flower touching three lines, and then spreads over the surface of the square flour or rice in the form of a thin layer. Then sprinkling water over it, he divides the rice into two parts by drawing a line and draws a *Svastika* in each half with the letters *Srim* and *Hrim* respectively. There he places over each *Svastika* vessel filled with water adorned with *darbha* grass, mango-leaves and flower garland. At a little distance from the marks of the lotus flowers, he writes the symbols of the eight *devas*, (1) Arhāt, (2) Siddhā, (3) Āchārya, (4) Upādhyāya, (5) Sādhu, (6) Jinadharmā, (7) Jina Śruta and

* The Marriage rites of the Jains are quoted from the Mysore University Magazine for July 1923.



A JAIN MARRIAGE GROUP.

(8) *Jaina Chaitya*. Away from this square, he draws another square with four doors and covers it with coloured rice, flower and sandal. To the west of the western lotus, he puts a plank for sitting; to the north of the northern lotus, he places *darbha* grass and vessels; to the south of the southern lotus, he keeps vessels to receive cooked rice, fried grain, fire-kindling sticks, clarified butter; and to the east of the eastern lotus flower, he keeps a spoon and a ladle. He gathers 108, 27, or 9 fire-sticks of *palāsa* or *udumbara* as thick as the little finger and as long as nine *angulas*. The fire sticks are to be bound together with a rope made of twelve *darbha* grasses and twisted threefold. The spoon is said to be of three *angulas* in its circumference with an edge half an *angula* deep and with a round handle. The ladle has a handle twenty *angulas* long with its face three *angulas* deep. They are made of the Indian fig tree and in its absence, its leaves are made use of. To supervise the performance of the rite, the priest is accompanied by another priest called Brāhman. In the circle made for the purpose, fire called Gārhapatya is kindled, and is said to be looked upon as the Arhāt. In some rites Āhavaniya and Dākshināgni are also kindled and worshipped. On all the four sides of the fire, three blades of *darbha* grass with a fire-stick are placed. Then the vessels are brought close to the flame and dried. Either over this fire or over a separate fire kindled elsewhere, a little quantity of rice is cooked for offering.

Immediately after this, an even number of Brāhman take with their hand flowers with coloured rice and say, "let everything prove auspicious to the house-holder or person in question," while the priest is seated touching the two water-vessels with his hands. When the Brāhman throw over the water-vessels the flowers and coloured rice held in

their hand, the priest takes the water with seven *darbha* grasses from the vessels, and sprinkles a few drops on all sides, saying that the day has become auspicious. Taking seven *darbha* grasses again and dipping their edge in clarified butter, and drawing the edge thrice in it from West to East, he throws them into the fire. Then taking clarified butter with the ladle, he pours it into the fire, once moving the ladle from South-West to North-East and once from the North-West to South-East. Then he worships the five *gurus*, and teachers with flowers and coloured rice, whereupon he puts fire-sticks one after another into the fire. He also puts into the fire cloves, fried grains, wheat, sesamum seeds, each six times, as also a handful of cooked rice in each of the four quarters round the fire. After doing this, he mixes cooked rice with clarified butter and fried grains and taking each time four handfuls of the above mixture, he puts into the fire as many times as the number of fire sticks which he puts into the fire. Finally, he makes the *swishtakrit* offering and also an expiatory offering. After this, he makes the final offering by pouring clarified butter into the fire, whereupon the priest with the Brāhmans sprinkles the water contained in the two vessels over the person for whose benefit the above oblations were made. This is the procedure of what is called *Nāndi-Hōma*.

On the day previous to that fixed for the marriage, the bridegroom performs the worship of the planets in his own house. On the day of marriage, two elderly women whose husbands are alive take two vessels, and go accompanied by an umbrella-bearer, whisk-bearer, and drummer and others to a tank or river, and having worshipped the water-goddess and filled their vessels with water, return to the house of the bride and place them in front of the

marriage platform by the side of oil-lamps and grains. In front of these vessels, there is placed a circular stone together with jaggery, *jīraka* (cumin seed), salt, coloured rice, all wound round with cotton thread. There are also placed five vessels filled with earth, in which five different grains are sown. The same custom is also observed in the house of the bridegroom. After the *homa* rite is performed, the bridegroom dines in his own house with his relatives and priest. After dinner is over, he with his party goes accompanied by an umbrella-bearer, whisk-bearer, conveyances, drummer and other followers to the bride's house, where they are welcomed. Entering the bride's house, he sits on a carpet spread on the marriage platform already described. Then he sits on another seat offered to him by the father, brother, or a kinsman of the bride. Then water is brought to him to wash his hands and feet. He thrice washes his feet accordingly, and taking water in the palm of his two hands held together with fingers closely joined and bent inside and looking at the water a moment, he lets the water drip down the sides of the fingers loosened. Then after doing thus thrice and taking some more water, he sips it thrice. Then uttering a *mantra*, he takes some curd out of a bronze vessel brought to him and drinks it, an act usually called *madhuparka*, honey-drinking. Then putting on new garments and ornaments presented to him, he gives his own garments to the brother of the bride. Meanwhile, the bride who is fasting so long, puts on new dress and ornaments and sits facing the east, a curtain being drawn between them. A number of benedictory verses are then sung and the curtain is removed, allowing the bride and bridegroom to look at each other for the first time. Then the bridegroom besmears the bride's face with a little jaggery, and attaches

thereon *jiraka* (cumin seed) and coloured rice. He also puts a garland round her neck. The bride also does the same to the bridegroom.

Then the bride-groom declares:—"I, the great-grandson of so and so, the grandson of so and so, the son of so and so, and named so and so, woo and choose the great-grand-daughter of so and so, the grand-daughter of so and so, and daughter of so and so and named so and so."

Then the maternal uncle or father of the bride declares, "I, the great-grandson of so and so, etc.—hand over in marriage to you, the great-grand-daughter of so and so—whom you have wooed and chosen."

Then he holds her hand which her father, placing a gold coin together with coloured rice and water, stretches to him and when her father has said, "protect her, adhering to the laws of righteousness, love and wealth."

Then taking a thread thrice as long as their respective height from their feet to their navel pit, and making it three-fold and again twisting it five-fold, the priest gives the thread of the bride's measure to the bridegroom and that of the bridegroom to the bride. Each of them takes the thread and binds the wrist of each other with it after colouring it with moist saffron powder.

Then the bridegroom rubs the palm of the bride with his hand dipped in clarified butter mixed with milk and puts some white rice grains on it. Then after receiving a few drops of water sprinkled over the rice by her father, the bride throws the rice grains on the head of the bridegroom. This is done twice. The same is repeated by the bride towards the bridegroom. Then binding the edges of their garments together, the couple look at the two water vessels and seat themselves on a carpet

spread to the west of the fire, when the priest performs the *homa* rite. Then the bridegroom sits between the fire and the bride, holding her right hand, goes towards the fire and coming to the right of the bride makes the oblations of cooked rice into the fire. Then the brother of the bride puts into the hand of the bride a handful of fried grain after smearing the palm of her hand with clarified butter. The bride pours the fried grains into the hand of the bridegroom. He puts it into the fire and placing his palms above the smoke rising from the fire, rubs his face with the palms. This is done twice. Then he takes the hand of the bride and leading her towards the stone placed to the north of the fire causes her to plant her two feet and stand on it and descend again. Then he with the bride goes round the fire and the water vessel kept in the north-eastern quarter, taking care to avoid going round the stone. He performs this perambulation thrice. Then the bride takes the winnowing pan with fried grains, and puts the whole of the grain into the fire. Then seven heaps of coloured rice are placed one foot apart from each other between the fire and the water-vessel in the north-eastern quarter. The couple then walk seven steps one behind the other, treading over the seven heaps of coloured rice and standing together on the seventh heap, they bend their heads together and sprinkle their heads with the water contained in the vessel. Then they perform the final oblation into the fire, and having received the benedictions of the assembly look at the two water vessels. That day they eat rice gruel mixed with sugar.

On the fourth day of the marriage, a barber cuts off their nails, rubbing their head with oil. After this, they bathe in warm water accompanied by a young boy. Then they adorn themselves and perform the

offering of fried grain into the fire, when the bride-groom ties round the neck of the bride an auspicious thread. Then having garlands of flowers round their necks, they make three perambulations round the fire, and perform the final oblation.

Then in a square pavilion with four doors to the north or the east of the fireplace, where on the surface an eight-petalled lotus flower is drawn in five colours, and where five water vessels are also placed, the bride worships Vāsuki and other eight Nāgas in the eight petals and makes offerings to them.

After this, the mother of the bride enters into the pavilion either through the eastern or northern door and goes out of it either through the western or southern door respectively, looking at the water vessels. Then the couple remove the threads tied round their wrist and put them into a vessel filled with milk and coloured rice. Then coming to the fire, they put a pointed fuel into it and placing the fire into a bamboo tube, preserve it.

After the usual offerings to Vāsuki and other Nāgas are made, there ensues between the bride and the bride-groom an interesting conversation in which the bride's brother and the priest take part. The dramatic interest of the conversation lies in the ethical exhortation made by the priest to the couple.

Addressing the bride's brother, the bridegroom says :—

"Will you, my dear brother-in-law, kindly ask your sister why she accompanied me so far and stopped?"

The bride replies :—

"The genealogy of your family is drawn from south-east to south-west and that of mine from north-west to north-east. I want to know the significance of this from the priest."

The priest says :—

"The genealogy of your husband is one of Gautama, Kasyapa, Srivatsa, Bharadvāja, Ātreya, Prajāpati, Kaundinya,

Vasishtha or Kāva, the Sutra being that of Bōdhāyana and Sākha being called Vrittānuyoga. Women will have the genealogy of their husbands for their own. But their deities will differ. They are four: eternal deities, deities of good work, deities of household, and family deities. The Arhāts, teachers and preceptors, and the good are eternal deities. The deities of good work are those of the three wheels, three umbrellas and the three fires. The household deities are Visvēsvara, Vaisravana, Dharanendra, and Śrī. The family deities are Chakrini, Jvalini, Padmini, and others. The first are worshipped for emancipation; the second for good rite; the third for good offspring, long life of the husband and prosperity; the fourth for the prevention of calamities."

Then addressing the assembly, the priest discourses on the six forms of marriage, Brāhma, Gandharva, Svayamvara, Rākshasa, Asura and Paisācha and exhorts the couple in words similar to those in which Kāva has addressed Dushyanta and Sakuntala in the Sakuntala drama.

Then, when asked by the bride-groom to follow him, the bride says:—

"How can I follow you, my love, when for the past four days since my father made a gift of me to you before the deities, the fire, and the assembly of the Dvijas, you have not exchanged a word with me? You have kept your vow of silence towards me and have not been kind enough to give me betel-nuts, or garment or a jewel." Then the husband requests her to forgive him, and praising her for her beauty entreats her to follow him. The bride still declines to comply with his request for the reason that he has not as yet expressed sweet words to her. The bride-groom then says:—

"I bow to thee, my dear, and I adorn your feet with flowers. Please give up your genealogy and adopt mine." To this, the bride replies saying: "It is only to find out your attachment to me that I tried to examine you in the presence of my relatives. I am come to know that you are devoted to

me and follow you faithfully." Then follows the moral exhortation to the couple by the bride's father, at the close of which the couple put flower garlands round the neck of each other and go in procession. Then having worshipped the assembly of the guests and received nuts and betel leaves given to them by the honoured guests in the assembly, they go round the village, and eat rice-gruel mixed with sugar.

On an auspicious day, the bridegroom accompanied by the bride and his kinsmen leaves for his house, and, arriving at his house, gives an entertainment to his kinsmen.

There is some difference in the names given to the rites, and also in the manner in which the rites are performed by the Jains of both the *Digambara* and *Svētambara* schools of Northern India. The sixteen domestic rites of the Northern Jains, whether *Digambaras* or *Svētambaras*, together with the rites to be observed by Jain *yatis* or ascetics in view of attaining the title of Jaina *ācharya* or preceptor, are all exhaustively treated of by Vardamana Suri in his *Achar-dinakara* written in Vikram 1468, as stated in the colophon of the work. I cannot be too thankful to Sāstravisarada Jaina Āchārya Vijayadharmasūri of Bhavanagar for the loan of his own manuscript copy of this excellent work. Among the customs peculiar to the Northern Jains, the following are worthy of notice:—

The first rite called Garbhadhāna is performed by them in the fifth month of pregnancy instead of in the fourth day after the first menses. In connection with this and other rites, the most important religious custom observed by them is the ablution of an image of Jina, probably having four faces, with water collected from various sources. This ablution water is collected in a separate vessel and is used

in sprinkling over the person or persons that are to go through the rite. In addition to this, worship of *Kula-devatas* or family goddesses is also performed. The second rite called Pumsavana or causing the birth of a male child is usually performed in the eighth month of pregnancy. In connection with the third rite called *Janma* or birth, washing the child with ablution water, casting of a horoscope and the binding to the child's wrist of an amulet made of the mixture of the powders of sandal wood, *Aegle Marmelos*, ashes, white mustard seeds and salt kept in a piece of silk cloth and tied round with a black thread, are all carefully performed. Expiatory rites to avert evils due to inauspicious stars on the occasion of birth are also performed when necessary. On the third day after delivery, the rite of showing to the baby the image of Jina, the sun, and the moon is performed, while the same rite is performed by the Jains in Southern India in the fourth month after the birth. On the sixth day after birth, a new rite called the worship of the sixth day goddess unknown to the Southerners is performed. A few women who have their husbands and children alive, and who are related to the woman in confinement, spend the whole night of the sixth day in singing auspicious songs. On the eleventh or twelfth or any other later day, the rite of getting rid of the pollution due to the birth is performed in accordance with family customs. On that day, the image of Jaina is worshipped and a dose of what is called *Panchagavya*, a mixture made up of cow-dung, cow's urine, cow's milk, curd, and butter is drunk by every member of the family. On the same day, a name is given to the child after worshipping the image of Jina. When the child has grown six months old, the rite of feeding the child is performed and in the child's third, fifth or sixth

year the rite in connection with boring a hole in the child's ears is solemnly performed. The eleventh ceremony termed shaving the child's head leaving a blade of hair in the middle of the head in the case of the first three castes and the whole head in the case of the Sūdras, is performed with much grandeur.*

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

The girls of the Jains remain with their parents after marriage until they come of age. When a girl attains her age, she is lodged in a separate room where she is kept under seclusion for nine to fifteen days. She is bathed every day and is seated in a conspicuous place when presents of gifts are made to her, and *ārati* is waved round her face every evening. This is done to avoid the potency of evil eye. On the ninth or the fifteenth day, the room in which she has been lodged is whitewashed, and purified with sanctified water (*punyāham*) which is sprinkled all over the house. She is bathed first in water mixed with cow-dung, cow's urine, milk, curd and clarified butter, then in pure water, and finally in tepid water. After she is well dressed and adorned in her best, she is taken to the hall of the house where a curtain is hung with a layer of rice grains spread on each side of the curtain. The husband of the maiden is seated on the rice facing east and the maiden facing west on the other side of the curtain. The priest with a few Brāhmins recites benedictory verses and throws coloured rice and flowers on the conjugal pair. The curtain is removed and the couple are made to see each other. Then, as already mentioned, the worship of the fire and the planets is gone through, and the Brāhmins are presented with a few annas, cocoanuts, fruits and *pan-supari*. The couple drink a dose of the mixture

* *Mysore University Magazine*, July 1923.

of *Aegle Marmelos* (*bilva*) and lotus root with milk and sugar. They eat from the same plate that day. Either on that night or in fifteen days after the menses-bath, consummation takes place. In this connection, it must be said that the worship of the planets is important, for the Jains believe that they come into the house during the day of pollution, and that they should therefore be appeased.

On the fourth day after menses, the maid is bathed first in water mixed with cow-dung, cow's urine, milk, curd and clarified butter, then in pure cold water and then in tepid water. After she has dressed herself and put on ornaments, she is taken to the hall of the house, where a curtain is hung with a layer of rice grains spread on the floor on both of its sides. The husband of the maiden is made to sit on the rice facing east and the maiden facing west on the other side of the curtain. The priest with a few Brāhmans recites benedictory verses and throws coloured rice and flowers on the couple. The curtain is removed and the couple are made to see each other. Then, as described before, worship of the fire and the planets is gone through and Brāhmans are presented with money, cocoanut, fruits together with *pan-supari*. Then the couple drink a dose of the mixture of the powder of *Aegle Marmelos* (*bilva*) and lotus-root with milk and sugar. The couple eat from the same plate that day, and take their bed together at night.

In the third month of her pregnancy, the couple bathe and put on their dress and ornaments. They sit together, the wife being on the right of the husband. After the priest has gone through the *homa* rite, and uttered the benedictory verses, and before the final oblation is made, the husband sprinkles the sacramental water on the belly of the

PREGNANCY
RITES.

wife. Then the final oblation is made, and the priest and a few Brāhmans assembled are presented with money, cocoanut and fruits together with *pan-supari*.

The rite to cause the birth of a male child is performed in the fifth month. In this rite, it is the husband that has to perform the oblations into the fire and the worship of the planets. After this is done, the husband puts a long garland of barley or wheat grains round the neck of the wife, then the final oblation into the fire, and presents to Brāhmans are made.

In the seventh month of her pregnancy, after bathing, and putting on their dress, the couple sit facing the east. An old lady, having her husband and children, parts the hair of the pregnant woman, with the stick of the *khadira* tree wound round with three blades of *darbha* grass and two fruits and flowers, or with the stick of any other sacrificial tree, or with the quill of a porcupine, and puts red-lead powder on her head. Then the husband puts the powder of glamerous fig tree both on the head and belly of the pregnant woman. Then the priest puts a garland made of the raw fruits of the glamerous fig tree round the neck of the woman. After this is over, the final oblation and gifts to Brāhmans are made as usual.

POST-NATAL
CEREMONIES
JATAKAR-
MAN.

On the birth of a child, male or female, the father of the child sips water and performs a *prānayāma*. Then deputing some Brāhmans to perform the worship of Jina together with oblations into the fire, he sprinkles water with three *darbha* grass stalks over the child and its mother. This he does without uttering any *mantra* in the case of a female child. Then mixing milk with clarified butter and sugar and putting into the mixture a small gold coin, he

causes the child to sip a little of the mixture and cuts off the navel-cord. The bit cut off is preserved. Then the room in confinement is cleansed, old mud being replaced by new. Such cleansing is to be performed once in three days till the pollution is got rid of on the tenth, twelfth or the fourteenth day according to caste rules. On the last day, the rites of *hōma* and *punyaha* are performed.

After the pollution is got rid of, the father, after bathing and putting on pure dress, spreads rice and grains in a plate and writes there along with his own name the name he likes to give to his child. In another vessel filled with milk and clarified butter, he keeps the several pieces of jewels intended for the child. Then sprinkling water over the plate and the vessel with *darbha* grass, he adorns the ears, head, arms, and the neck of the child with ornaments. After uttering the one hundred and eight names of the Arhāt, he calls upon him to give the child a good name.

Then the final oblation into the fire and presents to Brāhmins are made as usual. In the night of the same day, two small holes are made in the child's ears and the child is also put into cradle and swung.

When the child grows three months old, the father or the mother has to take the child out to the temple of Jaina and show it the idol of Jaina and the sun's disc, when Brāhmins are also invited to bless the child.

When the child is grown five months old, it is bathed and dressed well. In the centre of the hall, a beautiful carpet is spread and the child is made to sit on it putting the legs crosswise on its thighs. Brāhmins, who are invited to bless the child, are fed and given presents when red coloured water with rice grains in a plate is taken, and waved round by ladies before the child.

When the child passes seven months, an entertainment is given to Brāhmans, and it is fed with cooked rice mixed with milk, sugar and clarified butter, or it is given a drink of milk or curds.

When the child grows nine months old, oblations into the fire and worship of the planets are made. In front of the Brāhmans assembled in the hall, a piece of white cloth is spread and the child is made to walk on it and then round the Brāhmans.

After performing the usual oblations into the fire and worship of the planets on an auspicious day fixed for the purpose, the child, three years old, is bathed, dressed and made to sit on a plank facing the east. Six plates filled with sesamum seeds, beans, barley, corn, wheat, rice, tender leaves of Sami (*Mimoda Suma*) and cow-dung are kept somewhere to the north of the seat of the child. By the side of these plates, a razor, a stone on which the razor is rubbed to be sharpened, a pair of scissors, and seven *darbha* pieces with knots are also placed; and flowers, coloured rice, and rice grains are thrown over them; having thrown sesamum seeds round the boy seated on the lap of his mother, the boy's father takes a little warm water in hand, and sprinkles it on the floor in front. Taking a little butter mixed with curd, he besmears the hair on the boy's head. Then taking the razor with a piece of *darbha*, he cuts off some bits of hair near the right ear of the boy and placing the bits with the tender leaves of Sami (*Mimosa suma*) on a plate, he hands it over to the boy's mother. She puts the bit of hair over cow-dung. Thus he cuts off bits of hair on the right side of the head four times and on the left side thrice, handing the cuttings to the boy's mother who throws them over the cow-dung. After this, a barber shaves the head of the child, receiving some reward for shaving. Then the boy takes a bath

and the cuttings of hair are buried in a heap of cow-dung. At last, the final oblations into the fire and gifts to Brāhmans are made.*

On an auspicious day, in the fifth year of the boy, after the usual *homa* rites and the worship of the planets are performed, a priest or teacher spreads rice grains on a board placed on the floor, and after the boy has made salutations to the *Arhāts*, Brāhmans, and the teacher, he holds the boy's first finger and writes the alphabetical letters on the rice grains on the board. From this day onwards, the boy is made to learn writing.

TEACHING
THE ALPHABET.

When the boy has learnt how to write, he is caused to worship books on an auspicious day after the usual *homa* rites are made, and is taught by his teacher how to read. He is also taught arithmetical table or coins, dictionary, prosody, and rhetoric.

At seven or other odd years of age, the boys of Brāhmans and other good or pure castes are invested with their sacred string. On an auspicious day after the *homa* rite and the worship of the planets are performed, the boy well-dressed, seats himself on a plank facing the east, when his father makes a vertical line with sandal powder on his face. After the ceremony of investiture of the girdle of *Munja* grass twisted three-fold and a loin-cloth, the boy is invested with sacred string, consisting of three threads symbolising the three gems: good learning, good knowledge, and good conduct. After this ceremony, the boy is made to wear two garments, the upper and the under-garment, and is taught to offer water to the *Arhāts* and *Siddhas*. Then his teacher gives him a cocoanut with flowers and

INITIATION
UPANAYANA-
NAM.

coloured rice and teaches him the ethical commandments as follows :—

“ Destroy no animals ; utter no falsehood ; do not steal ; commit no adultery ; have no ambitious scheme of possessing fields, houses and wealth ; give up liquor, flesh, honey, gambling, and eating at night ; do not eat the fruits of milky trees which are always full of worms ; give up eating cucumber, the fruit of the jujube tree, gourd, kalanja flowers, plantain flower, garlic, asafoetida, sprouts, creepers, and cold and stale food ; give up also drinking the milk of a cow that has not passed 15 days after delivering a calf ; abstain from drinking the milk and curds of a buffalo ; do not chew betel leaves, do not decorate your body with colours and washes ; shave only your head, but no other parts ; do not get up the top of a wall, a fort, a tree growing on the bank of a river or lake, or a turret ; and do not swim in a tank or a deep lake.”

Having commanded him thus, the teacher teaches him the *mantras* used in performing *homa* rites and the *sūtras* treating of the moral conduct and manners of the three *varnas*, and gives him an umbrella and a stick made of *palasa*, *khadira* or *udumbaras* as long as he is high and having a piece of yellow cloth at the top. Then the boy offers three handfuls of water to the *Arhāts* with flowers and coloured rice. Then the teacher teaches him the method of worshipping the fire. The boy thus goes out of the house, and having offered a handful of water looking at the sun returns and worships the fire after kindling it ; he makes offerings of coloured rice, fried grains, and cooked rice into the fire. Having bowed down before the fire, he takes up a vessel and goes to the house of Brāhmans to beg alms. In each house, he cries ‘ *Bhagavati bhiksham dehi*, ’ ‘ O lady, give me alms ; ’ if the lady addressed happens to be a Kshatriya or a Vaisya woman, he has to put the word ‘ *Bhagavati* ’ before ‘ *dehi* ’ and after ‘ *dehi* ’ respectively. While giving alms, the lady has to say, ‘ Learn the first *Anuyoga Sūtra* ’ and give four

handfuls of rice. The relatives who happen to see him begging have to entreat him not to quit his own country for the sake of knowledge. After returning with his alms, he has to worship the fire, if he has not done it before he went out. After this is over, the Brāhmans invited are all fed and presented with money and flowers.

On the fourth day after the ceremony of Initiation, the boy performs his *homa* rite and goes with his relatives and Brāhmans to a well-grown fig tree. Having made a pit round the tree, he waters and worships it. To the east of the tree, he kindles a fire and performs the *hōma* rite, and says addressing the tree as follows :—

“ As thou art a *Bodhi* tree (wisdom-tree) pure and worthy for sacrifice, so make me also wise, pure and worthy.”

Having prayed thus, he binds a girdle of *Munja* grass to it and having perambulated it and the fire thrice, he returns home to feed the Brāhmans as on the first day.

The Initiation ceremony is usually performed before a boy attains the age of sixteen years. In the same year of his initiation, he performs the rite of *Sravani* in the month of *Śrāvana* (August) and begins the study of *Tatvārtha Sūtra*, a treatise on the philosophy of the Jains.

After finishing his study and fifteen days before his marriage, the student takes leave of his teacher to go home and marry. Having performed the *homa* rite, he presents to his teacher, in addition to a cow with its calf, a sum of money. Having put on the dress of a house-holder and worn head-dress and sandals, he goes to a well-grown fig tree and having watered it, he removes his girdle of *Munja* grass and puts it on a branch of the fig tree pointing to the North-East. Then taking a fuel of

twenty-four *angulas* in length from the fig tree, he returns home and puts it into the fire.

In connection with the rite of initiation which is ususally performed before the sixteenth year of the person to be invested with the sacred string, the following peculiarities deserve special attention :—

- (1) Significance of the sacred strings.
- (2) Difference in the number of sacred strings according in caste.
- (3) Reclamation of those who have transgressed social or caste customs and contracted vicious habits.
- (4) Cessation of vow and the gift of a cow.

Though it appears from the Jain work entitled *Dvijavadana chapeta*, 'A slap on the cheek of the twice-born,' that at the outset the Jains made a strong protest against the caste distinctions of the Brāhmans, they seem to have been obliged later on to retain those distinctions in consideration of the difficulty experienced in reclaiming some persons from their habitual depravity. Among the Jaina Brāhmans, some are considered to have sprung from the family of Ikshvāku, some from Nārada and others are regarded either as the eastern or the northern Brāhmans. Among the Kshatriyas are those that claim descent from Jaina, Chakri, Baladeva, Vasudeva, Sreyamsa, Dasārna and others. Among the Vaisyas are counted the Kirtikas, the Sreshthis, the Kamadevas and others. Those that call themselves Anandas are good Sudras. Those that are lower than these are called Vānikas (merchants).

The Jainas do not, however, seem to acknowledge caste by birth. They consider that caste comes by initiation. Still fitness for initiation is considered by them to be dependent upon birth. Accordingly

Jaina Brāhmanas are given three sacred strings, Kshatriyas two, Vaisyas one, Sudras an upper garment and those that are lower than the Sudras have to obtain permission to wear an upper garment. For the formation of a sacred string, a thread (gold, silver, copper or cotton) 81 feet long is taken and made into a single three fold thread 27 feet long. This is again made threefold, the two ends being tied over the three turns. Brāhmanas have to wear three of such strings, there being on the whole nine strings, the Kshatriyas only two, there being only six strings, the Vaisyas only one with three strings. The nine strings are taken to symbolise the three gems of the Jainas: True Revelation, True Knowledge and True Observance (*Samyadarsana*, *Samyajnāna*, *Samyakcharitra*) in their threefold aspects, viz., (1) observance of the three gems by oneself, (2) teaching others to observe them, and (3) permitting the fit to attempt to observe them as far as possible. Thus the nine strings represent (1) the learning of true revelation, (2) the acquisition of true knowledge, (3) observance of the true precepts, (4) teaching the revelation to others, (5) causing others to acquire true knowledge, (6) causing others to put the precepts into practice, (7) permitting the fit to see the true revelation, (8) permitting the same to acquire some portion of the true knowledge, and (9) permitting the same to practise the precepts as far as possible. As symbolising the nine duties which the Jaina Brāhmanas have to observe, they have to wear nine strings made of three pieces of threefold strings each. The Kshatriyas have to wear only two pieces of three strings each, as they are not and cannot be expected to permit others to observe the three gems. The Vaisyas have to put on only one piece of three strings, as they cannot be expected to permit others to

observe the three gems and even to teach the three gems to any one else.

The person to be initiated is given a thread of *Munja* grass to tie round his waist, a piece of loin-cloth, a stick of *jalasa* tree and the sacred string to put on. Then the priest teaches him the moral precepts and the initiated is made to take a vow and promise the observance of the moral precepts. He is commanded by the priest to do, to cause others to do, and to permit the fit to observe as far as possible all those deeds which are approved of and to stay away from such as are condemned. He is also made to say that he will help not only himself, but also others in attaining emancipation. If the person initiated happens to be a Brāhman, he has to put on three pieces of three strings each and observe the nine duties referred to above. Before putting on the thread, the boy is asked to declare that so long he has belonged to no *varna* or caste and has been living a life with no religious or moral restraint. After investiture of the sacred string, he says that he has been taken into the fold of a religious order with serious obligatory duties to be discharged. The sacred strings worn by him are constant reminders of his duty. Soon after his initiation, he has to begin his study and spend a fixed number of years in finishing his course, as is the case with the Vedic Brāhmans. Thus the rite performed at the commencement of study is the thirteenth among the sixteen domestic rites of the Jains.

As a different form of the rite of initiation, there is the rite called *Vatukarma* by which outcastes, Buddhists, Naiyayikas, Charvakas, Vaiseshikas, Sāṅkhyas, actors, artisans, dealers in scents, betel leaves and flowers, and other persons following condemned professions are all admitted to the Jains.

order. After such persons are duly initiated, the teacher addressing the initiated, expresses the following *Mantra* :—

“Thou art unrighteous, (but now) thou art righteous ; thou art low-born, (but now) thou hast become high-born ; thou art an atheist, (but now) a theist ; thou art a Saugata, a Naiyayika, a Sankhya, or a Charvaka, (but now) with this sacred string thou art empowered to attain the bliss.”

Evidently this is a sort of baptism performed at the time of conversion to Jainism.

After studying a few years under a teacher, the student performs a rite called *vrata visarja*, abandonment of study and makes the gift of a cow to his teacher.*

The Jain family is patriarchal like the joint Hindu family. The father with his wife and children lives in one house. The father's authority is supreme. A large majority of them are cultivators and traders, and there is a great deal of co-operation in the family. The male rise before daybreak and attend to their work in the field or in the shop, returning home at ten, and break-fasting on rice porridge. After breakfast they rest till one, when they go to work, and return at sunset. The women also rise early in the morning, attend to their daily routine, and help their husbands in the field. Children also as they grow old, help their parents in the daily work. They are said to be thrifty, mild, orderly, and hard-working.

FAMILY
LIFE.

The Jains follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance, and there are special rules and usages peculiar to them. The religious element largely enters into the Indian law of inheritance besides the general

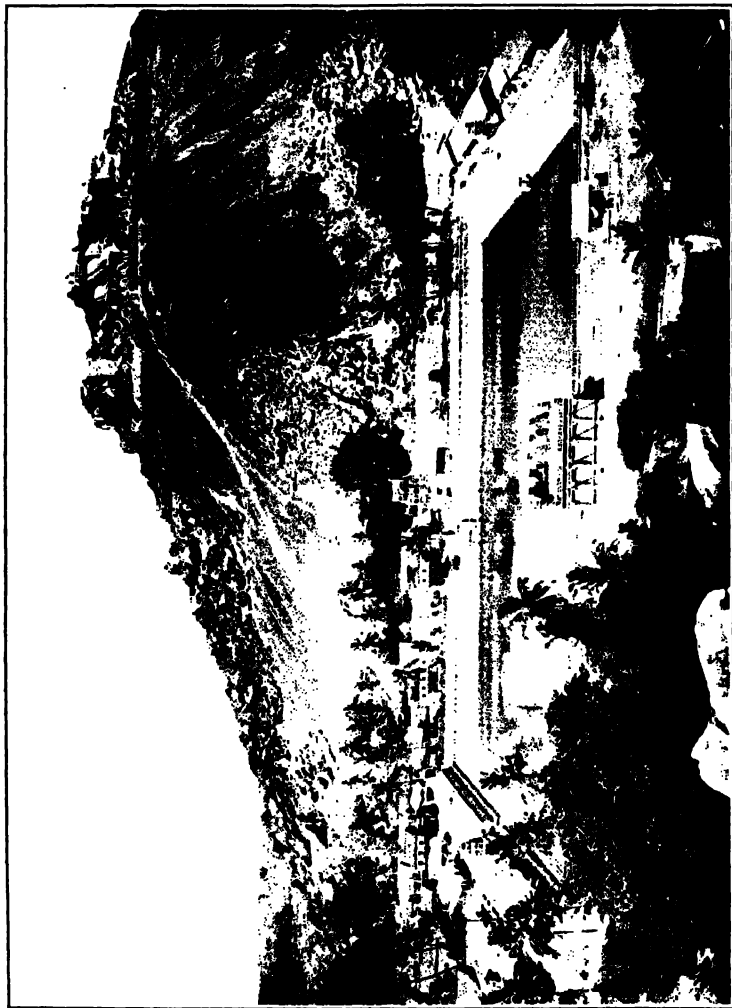
INHERIT-
ANCE.

* Mysore University Magazine, July 1923.

rule of succession. Civil death, *i.e.*, the exclusion of a man from his caste owing to some offence or breach of caste rules, has the same consequence as a natural death, and causes the property of the person outcasted (*patita*) not to devolve on him. Civil death is now inoperative, as loss of caste, according to an act of 1850, does not affect the civil right. Spiritual relationship is recognized as well as blood relationship. A pupil succeeds to his spiritual teacher, and *vice versa*. No relative can succeed to a property acquired by a man during the time he was a *Sanyāsi*. It goes to one of his disciples who should perform the funeral rites according to custom. The succession goes either by nomination by the previous *Sanyāsi* or by election after his death. The *Sanyāsis* are generally heads of religious institutions (*matha*) which are endowed for the purpose of maintaining and spreading the doctrines of some religious sect. These monastic institutions are with considerable grants of land made by Hindu princes and noblemen, and the property is generally vested in the preceptor or the head for the time being, generally called Mahant. Many of them have become so far worldly as to forget their primary duties, the sole object being the acquisition of wealth by trade or otherwise. The old rule of succession remains, and the property does not pass by inheritance to any one who does not fill that office. It is devoted to the maintenance of the establishment. The superior has large control over it, and is not accountable to its management.

ADOPTION.

Among the Jains, a sonless widow has the same power of adoption as her husband, and would have had it if she had chosen to exercise it. Neither his sanction nor that of any other person is necessary. They differ from the Brāhmanical Hindus in their



THE TEMPLE OF COMATESVARA ON THE TOP OF THE HILL AT SRAVANABELGOLA AND KALLIANA
TIRTHA BELOW.

conduct towards the dead, omitting all the obsequies after the corpse is burnt or buried. They also regard the birth of a son as having no effect on the future effect of his progenitor, and consequently adoption is merely a temporal arrangement, having no spiritual object.

The village headman settles common disputes with the help of a council of castemen. Serious cases are referred to the spiritual teachers whose orders are enforced on pain of the loss of caste.

SOCIAL
ORGANIZA-
TION.

Jainism, like Buddhism, is said to be a monastic religion, and denies the authority of the Vedas. It is therefore regarded by the Brāhmanas as heretical. The Jain church consists of the monastic order and lay community. The two rival factions into which the Jains are divided have been already mentioned, and the dogmatic differences between them are rather trivial differing more in conduct, and they are given below.

RELIGION.

The cardinal doctrine of Jainism is *Ahimsa* (doing no injury to anybody). The Jains belong to the two main sects, namely, the Svētambaras or the white-robed, and the Digambaras or the sky-clad, i.e., naked saint worshippers. There is very little difference between the two sects as regards the creed. One of the most authoritative works of the Digambaras (*Tatvartadhigama*) is one of the standard authorities of the Svētambarās, and its author is probably a Svētambara. The Svētambarās hold that there are twelve heavens and sixty-eight Indras; and the Digambarās, sixteen heavens and one hundred Indras. The Svētambarās are the Catholics among the Jains, while the Digambarās represent the Puritans. The Digambarās disown the canonical

DOCTRINAL
DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN
THE JAIN
SECTS.

books of their rivals, and contend that they were lost during the first centuries after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira. Owing to their separation in very early times, the Digambaras developed independently an ecclesiastical and literary history of their own. Even during the time of Mahāvira, the two parties existed. The great Jain hero formed his community by uniting the two orders of mendicants, *Stāvira kalpa* and *Jaina kalpa*. The former wore cloths, but one section of the latter were clad in the four quarters of the sky. This outward and visible difference was symbolic of the different types of men in the community. Only a strong statesman could have held the two parties together. Under the circumstances, the cleavage was bound to become permanent. According to the Svētāmbara Stānakavāsi tradition, the first crisis arose through famine which took place in the reign of Chandragupta (300 B.C.) when 12,000 monks went to South India under Bhadrabāhu in search of food. They were the young and vigorous members of the order who were able to carry out their order in entirety, and so went unclad, while the other members of the community amounting, as the legend says, to 12,000 were allowed to wear cloths no matter which of the two parties they originally belonged. When Bhadrabāhu returned after famine, he became once more the head of the undivided community, but he was not able to insist on nakedness even on a section. Another cause of schism arose during the famine. During the absence of Bhadrabāhu, the second in command was Sthulabhadra, who called a council at Pātaliputra to collect the sacred books. The council were able to produce eleven *angas*, but Stūlabāhu himself produced the missing twelfth *anga*. Bhadrabāhu during whose absence this council was held was very much annoyed, and said

that the 12th *anga* was hopelessly lost. This led to the cleavage between the two parties. There arose another difference between the two parties. When Sivabhūti's sister wished to join the order, he roundly said that it was not possible for a woman to become a nun or to obtain *moksha* (salvation) without re-birth as a man. For it was impracticable for a woman to go about naked. He thus laid down for all time a distinctive tenet for the Digambarās.*

Svētambarā's list of text books is not accepted by the Digambarās who hold that no woman can attain *moksha*. According to the Svētambara tradition, it is held that Mallinatha, the 19th Tirthānkara, was a woman. But the two sects differ very considerably about the life history of Mahāvira. The Svētambarās arrange their philosophy into nine categories, while the Digambarās arrange the same philosophy under seven heads. One point of difference on which they lay great emphasis is that according to the Svētambarās, a Tirthānkara needs food to support him till his death, while the Digambaras believe, that when once a Tirthānkara has attained omniscience, he has no further need of meals. A Svētambara ascetic may keep a loin-cloth, a shoulder cloth and a blanket to cover, and along with these, his brush, mouth cloth, and wooden vessels and he is allowed to retain fourteen articles in the world, whereas a Digambara is absolutely nude, and though provided with brush and peacock feathers, he lives entirely in the jungle. The Svētambara laymen complain that their ascetics interfere too much in their conferences. This complaint is never brought against the Digambara ascetic whose lack of clothing interns him for life in the wilderness.

DISTINCTIVE
TENETS
AND
PRACTICES.

* Mrs. Sinolair Stevenson : *The Heart of Jainism*, pages 10, 11, 70.
L. Rice : *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I.

JAINA
ARCHITECTURE.

The earliest Jain architects seem to have used wood as their chief building material, because in a country like India wood was easily procurable. The buildings lacked in durability, for the earliest Jain buildings have all disappeared. The use of timber gradually led to the exquisite fineness of carvings in the interior of the temples. The Jains like the Buddhists had their *stupas* and cave temples. The wonderful caves in Junagad, those at Orissa, Badami, Patna and Ellora belonged to the Jainas. The plan of the Jain temples of the twelfth century consisted of an open porch (*mandapa*), a close hall of assembly (*sabha mandapa*) and inner shrine or cell (*garbha griha*) in which the idol was kept. The whole was surrounded by a closed courtyard carrying on its inner wall numerous separate cells, each with its own small image of a Tirthānkara. The inner shrine was always guarded by richly guarded doorways; but the idols displayed no artistic merit. For 300 years from the 11th to the 13th century, the Jains reached the zenith of their prosperity. This period was also the marvellous epoch of temple building in spite of the occasional outbursts of fierce persecution. Mount Abu, the rock of Girnar, and Satrunjaya, attest to the magnificence and surpassing holiness. The Mahomedans destroyed many of them, and with their materials built their mosques. The Jaina architecture of the South forms a class apart. It has three chief divisions which consist of temple (*basti*) having a shrine, assembly hall and porch like those in North India, but with more ornate outer walls. There are open air courtyards (*Betta*) which contain a number of images of the Tirthānkaras of the North, but of Gomateswara, a Digambara saint unknown in North India. It is to this saint that the famous colossus of the south is dedicated. The best known



THE IMAGE OF GOMATESVARA.

of these is that at Sravana Belagola in Mysore which, cut from a single block of gneiss, stands some fifty-seven feet high. Others are to be found at Yennur and Karkala in South Canara. The third class of temples are to be found in Canara, and their general style and specially their reversed caves resemble the caves of Nepal. Another feature of temples not in Southern Jaina architecture is the *Stamba* or pillar.

The town of Sravana Belagola is situated at the base of the two hills, on the summit of one of which, the Indra Betta, is the colossal statue of Gomateswara, Gommatta, or Gomata Raya, concerning which Mr. Lewis Rice writes :—"The image is nude and stands erect, facing the north, being visible for many miles round the country. The face has a serene expression; the hair is curled in short spiral ringlets all over the head, while the ears are long and large. The figure is treated conventionally, the shoulders being very broad, the arms hanging straight down the sides with the thumbs turned outwards, the waist small. From the knee downwards, the legs are somewhat dwarfed. The feet are placed on the figure of a lotus. Representations of ant-hills rise on either side, with figures of a creeping plant springing from them, which twines over the thighs and the arms, terminating in a tendril with bunches of fruit. These symbolise the complete spiritual abstraction of a *yati*, absorbed and motionless during his long period of penance. Though by no means elegant, the image is not wanting in majestic and impressive grandeur. It was probably cut out of a rock which projected high above the hill, or the top of the hill itself may have been cut away. The figure has no support above the thighs. Though so old, the stone looks almost as fresh as if newly quarried. Within the enclosure around

are 72 small statues of a similar description in compartments."* The extreme height of the figure may be stated at 57 feet though estimates have been given, 60 feet three inches, by Sir Arthur Wellesley and 70 feet 3 inches, by Buchanan. Of this figure, Fergusson writes that nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere except out of Egypt, and even there no known statue exists to surpass it in height.†

Other colossal statues of Gomata are situated on the summit of the hills outside the towns of Karakal and Venur or Yenur in South Canara. Concerning the former, Dr. E. Hultzsch writes as follows: It is a monolith consisting of the figure itself, of a slab against which it leans and which reaches up to the wrists and of a round pedestal which is sunk into a thousand petalled lotus flower. The legs and arms of the figure are entwined with vines (*drāksha*). On both sides of the feet, a number of snakes are cut out of the slabs against which the image leans. Two inscriptions on the sides of the same slab state that this image of Bahubalin or Gomata Jināpati was set up by a chief named Vira Pandiya, the son of Bhairava in A.D. 1431-32. An inscription of the same chief is engraved on a graceful stone pillar in front of the outer gateway. This pillar bears a sacred figure of Bramhadeva, a chief of Patti-pombuchcha, the modern Huncha of Mysore, who like Vira Pāndya belonged to the family of Jaina Datta built the *chaturmukha* basti in A.D. 1586-87. As its name implies, the temple has four doors, each of which opens on three black stone figures of the three Tirthānkaras, Ari, Malli, and Munisuvrata. Each of the figures has a golden aureole over the head. According to a legend

* L. Rice : *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, pages 365, 366.

† L. Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, page 102.



PREPARATION FOR THE MASTHAKABHISHEKA OF GOMATESWAR.

recorded by Mr. M. J. Walhouse, the Karakal statue when finished, was raised on to a train of twenty iron carts furnished with steel wheels, on each of which ten thousand propitiatory cocoanuts were broken and covered with an infinity of cotton. It was then drawn by legions of worshippers up an inclined plane to the platform on the hilltop where it now stands.*

The legend of Kalkuda who is said to have made the colossal statue at Belagola is narrated at length by Mr. A. C. Burnell. Told briefly, the story is as follows: Kalkuda made a Gomatta two cubits higher than at Belur. Bairanasuda, king of Karkal, sent for him to work in his kingdom. He made the Gomattaswami. Although five thousand people were collected together, they were not able to raise the statue. Kalkuda put his left hand under it, and raised it, and set it upright on a base. He then said to the king, "Give me my pay, and the present that you have to give me. It is twelve years since I left my house and came here." But the king said, "I will not let Kalkuda, who worked in my kingdom, work in another country and cut off his left hand and right leg. Kalkuda then went to Timmanajila, king of Myseenur, and made a Gum-mata two cubits higher than that at Karikal.

In connection with the figure at Sravan Belagola, Fergusson suggests that the hill had a mass of stone standing on its summit, which the Jains fashioned into a statue. At Karikal, Yenur, Mudabidure, in the South Canara, there are similar statues. There are similar places of importance in South India, especially in the districts, North and South Arcot, and Madura, where the ruins of many Jain temples are still to be seen.

* J. Sturrock : *Manual of South Canara*, pages 85, 87, 90.

JAIN TEM-
PLES.

The Jain temple consists of an outer hall and a shrine. The walls of the outer hall are filled with niches of the different Brahmanic and attendant goddesses. In the shrine is an image generally of the 23rd Tirthānkara or saint Parsanath which is generally naked. The Svētambara images have glass eyes inserted in the marble, and decorated with loincloth and jewels, whereas the austere Digambara idols are nude and represented to the world as being with eyes cast down. They are also devoid of instruments or signs such as mace, disc, lotus or conch which are found in Hindu idols. The expression of the images is generally mild, and the eyes point towards the nose showing a kind of yogic concentration. They are generally of black polished stone, two to three feet high either standing with the hands stretched down the sides or seated in a cross-legged position. In temples there may be several images, but usually only one. The favourite Tirthānkaras found in temples are Rishbēsvara, Ananthanath, Santhanath, Nemanath and Mahāvira. The God Indra is frequently found sculptured as an attendant guardian in Jain temples. The fourteenth Tirthānkara is specially revered by the people, because of his being identified with Gautama Buddha.

DAILY
ROUTINE OF
PUJAS IN
A DIGAM-
BARA TEM-
PLE.

The daily morning worship consists in washing the image with water (*jala pūja*), drying it carefully without allowing a drop of water to fall to the ground, marking it with auspicious marks (*chandama pūja*) offerings of rice (*akshata*), and dried (not fresh) fruit (*naivedya pūja*). In the evening, the worship consists of *ārati pūja*, when a five-fold lamp is solemnly waved from left to right for a few minutes in front of the idol. There is no decoration of the idol either with jewels or flowers. No woman is allowed to enter the inner shrine on any consideration.



A GROUP OF JAIN PRIESTS ENGAGED SHAVING.

Only pure water is used for the washing of the image. The officiant must be a Jaina himself, and he is forbidden to eat any of the offerings made to the idol. A Jain Digambara has a right to private worship in his house.

In Svētambara worship, if no Jaina is an officiant, Brāhmans perform the functions. If a devout Jaina be present, he bathes and dresses himself in the two pieces of cloths he keeps for the purpose in the little dressing room outside the temple, often bids as much as five annas for the privilege of performing the *jala-pūja* when he will carefully wash the image with water, then with milk, and again with water. The same worshipper dries the idol with five or ten separate cloths which are kept in the temple, and whose number varies according to the wealth of the temple. He might also perform the *angalunchana pūja*. A devotee may perform the *chandana pūja*, and mark the idol with fourteen auspicious marks, but only the paid officiant is allowed to perform the *anga pūja*, since this involves the handling of the valuable jewellery belonging to the idol. If the worshipper for whose benefit it is performed has paid a large sum, such as fifty rupees, the best crown, necklace, ear-rings, bracelets, armlets and girdle all wrought in gold, will be brought out and put on the idol. In the event of his offering only half the sum, the idol will only wear the second best silver gilt ornaments. Then flowers and garlands (*pushpa pūja*) are offered and this completes the performance of the ritual for which the special dress must be worn. The performance of this kind is restricted only to men. The remaining acts of worship can be done by women or by men in their ordinary costume, since the inner shrine cannot be entered. They consist of *dhūpa pūja*

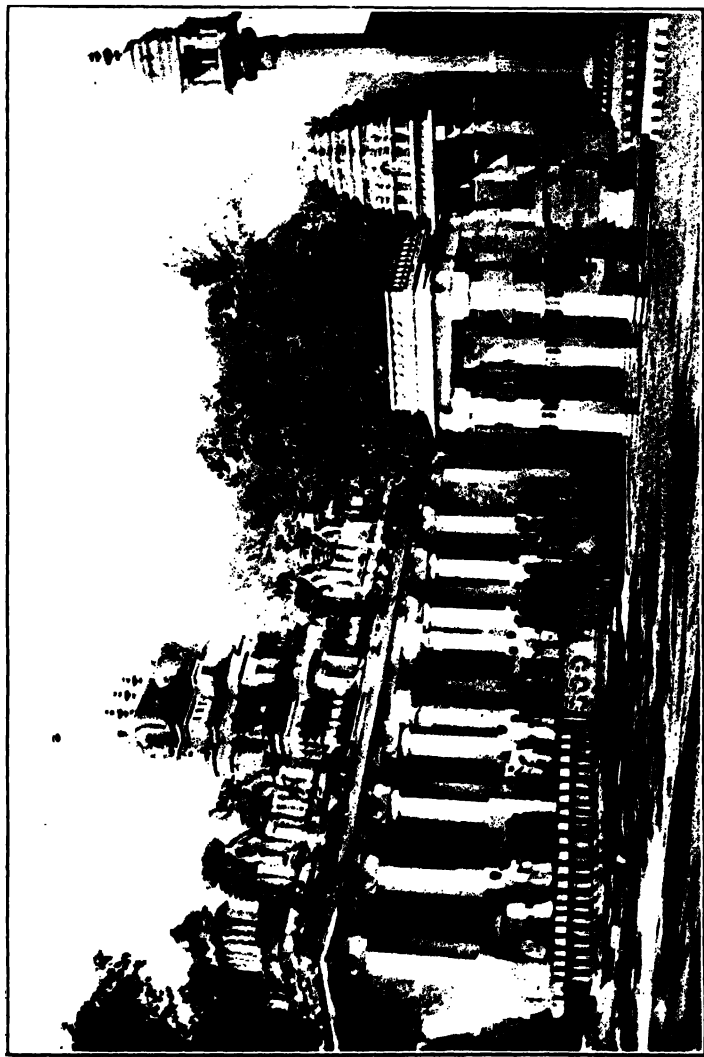
SVĒTAMBARA
WORSHIP.

(the burning of frankincense or stick of incense before the shrine), *dīpa pūja* (the waving of lamp), *akshata pūja* (the offering of rice), *neivedya pūja* (the offering of sweetmeats) and *phala pūja* (the offering of fruit). It is interesting to notice the way in which each different worshipper arranges the rice in the *akshata pūja*.

The Swastika sign is intended (a) to represent the *gati* or the state in which a *jīva* may be born as either a denizen of hell or of heaven, a man or a beast. The three little heaps (b) symbolize the three jewels of right knowledge, right path, and right conduct which enable a man to reach *moksha* represented by the sign (c). In the Svētāmbara worship, fresh fruit is included in the *neivēdya* which a Digāmbara will never permit, considering that by so doing they take life. The evening adoration of the Svētāmbara, as of the Digāmbara, consists in the *ārati pūja* (waving a lamp before the shrine). In a Svētāmbara temple, the whole hall is dotted with a number of worshippers who are seated each before a separate stool arranging the rice in the mystic way and offering coin and fruit, then telling their beads and performing their *Bhava pūja*. In a Digāmbara temple, there is one united act of worship. The rice and dry fruit are all arranged in separate little heaps in a tray placed on a table, to be removed from it to form a large mound on another.*

It is always meritorious to perform the worship in the temples of one's own town. It is still more so to perform the same at places of pilgrimage particularly at certain seasons of the year, when the temple is thronged with a large number of visitors, each rushing to perform the *pūja* before the other. Consequently, the temple custodians are forced to play the part of auctioneers and employ the familiar

* Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson: *The Heart of Jainism*, Chap. XIII, pages 250-255.



A TEMPLE AT SRAVANABELGOLA.

wiles of the auction room to run up the price. The auctioning is carried on under the guise of bidding for *ghee* (melted butter), and the man who offers the largest quantity of ghee gets the coveted privilege, the seers being only a conventional phrase for a fixed number of annas.

The Digambara Jains are said to use a good deal of Sanskrit in their devotions. The Svētambaras, on the other hand, use Sanksrit and Magadhi. From this it is inferred that the use of Sanskrit seems to have come into force along with idol worship under Hindu influence.

The Jains have *utsavainurtis* (idols to be taken in procession) on festival and special *pūja* days as in Hindu temples. The procession is marked with the accompaniment of music and drum beating.

Sometime during the day the laymen should read one of the scriptures unless prevented by any of the thirty-two reasons, such as having been near a dead body, finding a blood-stain on his clothes or being in any other way impure ceremonially. Again, he must not read books if there is a mist, or a thunder-storm, the fall of a meteor, an eclipse of the moon, no moon, or when a great king or even a great man dies, or if the sky has been red at sunrise or sunset or if there has been a dust-storm. He must not read them on any of the first three days of the bright half of the moon, in a house where meat is eaten, near funeral pyre, on a battle field, or in the twilight of the early morning or late evening.

SCRIPTURE
READING.

As among the Hindus, the Jains have the domestic gods whose images made either of carved wood or metal three or four inches high are located in a separate room close to the kitchen in a *dēvars*. Among the images is also found the mask or bust

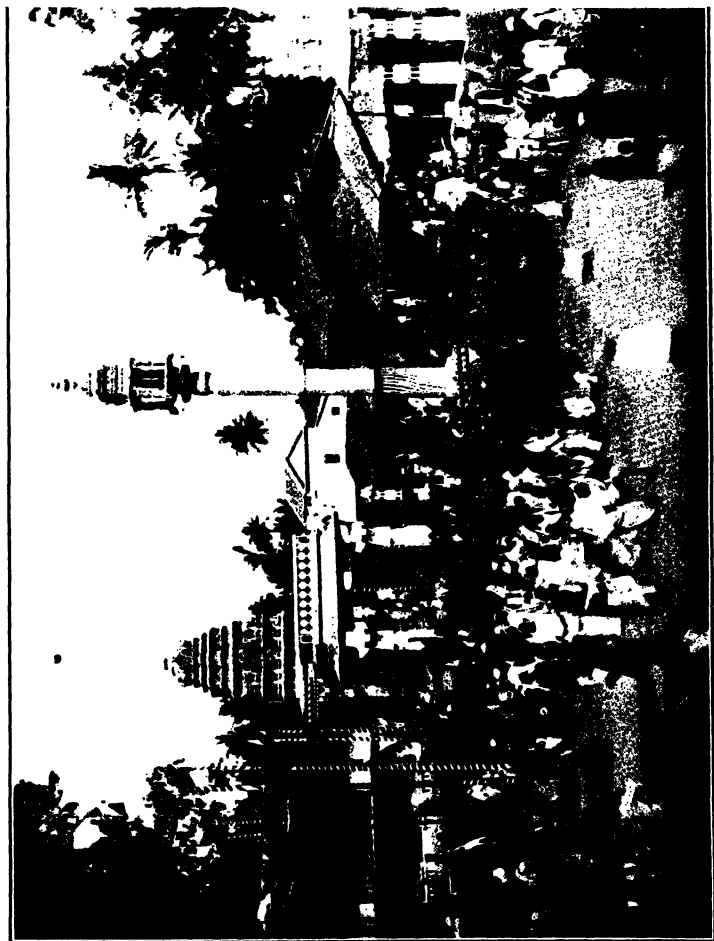
DOMESTIC
WORSHIP.

of some deceased female member of the family who has afflicted the family with sickness, and to please her, the image is placed for propitiation among the household Gods. The image of Pārsvanath is also found among them. The daily routine of *pūjas* is the same as has been described above. On holidays, *pūjas* are performed on a large scale when offerings are made, and frankincense burned. Their patron deities are Padmāvatī, Jvala, Kushmandevī, Kālī and Dēvi, all of whom have their shrines in almost all Jain settlements.

FASTS AND FESTIVALS.

There is no shorter road to the right understanding of a religion than to study the fasts and festivals, the occasions on which it occurs and the things over which it mourns. Jainism is no exception to this. It lays special stress on outward observance. The ordinary routine of daily worship varies on the days of fasts and festivals. The most important of their festivals is the Pajjusana, the solemn season which closes the Jaina year. Many devout laymen fast for eight days or even longer and attend special services at the Āpasara. They also take the opportunity of doing *poshadha*, becoming a monk for the time being. The teaching of Jainism leads the laity along the path of asceticism towards deliverance and during this period at least, the householders are urged to live a monk's life for twenty-four hours. During the 24 hours, he spends the time in fasting and meditation. As a matter of fact, every household is supposed to perform the *poshadha* twice a month, but as a rule the Jains postpone it to the end of the year. If *poshadha* is too exacting, a layman may observe the partial fast of *daya* or *samvara*, when he takes food and boiled water at will.*

* Mrs. S. Sinclair Stevenson: *The Heart of Jainism*, Chap. XIII, pages, 250, 260.



RATHOTSAVA (CAR FESTIVAL) IN THE JAIN TEMPLE.

"The closing day of Pajjusana and Samvatsari **SAMVATSARI.** is the solemn fast of all. Every Jaina fasts throughout the day from food and water, and the Apasara are crowded with men and women making their confessions. Any outsider who visits these gatherings is deeply impressed with the determination of all present to carry no grudge nor quarrel over into the next year. At the close of the meeting, every one present asks forgiveness from his neighbour for any offence he may have unwittingly given, and they all write to distant friends for their pardon. The determination to start a new year in love and charity with their neighbours is not confined to their own community, but to others also. Special processions are also arranged through the town in honour of their Kalpa Sutra.*

The cradle procession on Mahavira's birthday is conventionally fixed for the first day of *Bhādrapada* the fourth day of Pajjusana. The temples are decorated with flags on this and on the conventional birthdays of other Tirthānkaras.

The next important holiday of the Jains is the **DIVALI OR DIPAVALI.** Divali which is a Hindu festival celebrated in honour of Lakshmi the goddess of wealth. The festival has the Jaina sanction, by calling it the day on which, Mahāvira passed to *moksha*, "when all the eighteen confederate kings made an illumination saying, since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of matter." The details of the ceremony are thus described. On the first day (Dhanatirasa), the Svētambara women polish their jewellery and ornaments in honour of Lakshmi, on the second (Kalacaudasa), they propitiate evil spirits by placing sweatmeats at cross-roads, and

* Mrs. S. Sinolair Stevenson; *The Heart of Jainism*, Chap. XIII, pages 259, 260.

on the third (Amasa), all Jainas worship their account books—*Sri pūja*. A Brāhman is invited to write *Srī* (Lakshmi) on the account-books over and over again in such a way as to form a pyramid. The priest performs Lakshmi *pūja*, the oldest obtainable rupee and the leaf of a creeper being placed on an account-book, and also a little heap of rice, pan, betel-nut and turmeric, and in front of it a small lamp filled with burning camphor is waved, and the book is marked with red powder. No one closes the account-book for several hours, and when they do so, they are careful to say: "A hundred thousand profits." *

The full-moon fasts bear testimony to the Hindu influence, and at any rate, they are carefully observed by the Jains. Kartik *puṇnima* (October-November), Chaitra *puṇnima* (April-May), are observed with special devotion. On the other full-moon days which fall in the spring and summer, they fast and hear special sermons. But the summer full-moon day (*Āshād puṇnima*) is one to which they pay special attention, for wherever they spend that day, there they must remain till the rainy season is over.

JNANA
PANCHAMI.

According to the Jaina scriptures, what is called Jñāna Panchami is observed once a year, when all the Jain sacred books are not only worshipped, but also dusted and freed from insects and rearranged. This corresponds to the Sarasvati *pūja* of the Hindus.

MAUNA-
GYARASA.

The Svētambaras once a year keep a solemn fast on the eleventh day of *Margasīrsha* (November-December). The worshipper abstains from food, water, and vegetables, and ineditates on the five

* Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson: *The Heart of Jainism*, Chap. XIII, pages 260, 261.

stages (Sādhu, Upādhyāya, Achārya, Tirthānkara, and Siddha) of the upward path and on the next day he worships eleven sets of eleven different kinds of things connected with knowledge, such as eleven pens, eleven pieces of paper and eleven ink-bottles.

The worship of Siddha *chakra* or saint wheel which is kept in every temple, serves also to remind the worshipper of the stages he must pass in this world to obtain salvation. It represents the Jaina confession of faith, and no Svētambara temple is complete without it. Twice a year, in the spring and autumn, it is worshipped by having the eightfold *pūja* done to it every day for eight days. Fast is considered so important by the Jains that the more devout observe twelve days every month as days of abstinence. But the less strict content themselves with fasting on five days.

SAINT
WHEEL
WORSHIP.

The ever-present influence of Hinduism is felt even more by Jaina women than Jaina men. It is they who insist on keeping the Hindu festival of *Sithalādēvi* (Small-pox demon) and many similar ones. *Sithāl matha* is adored with prayers and sacrifices when small-pox is raging in their village. The two feasts, Virapasali when brothers give presents to their sisters and receive their blessings, and Bhaibija when sisters invite them to go to their houses are also observed. Invariably girls and women fast on Hindu holidays of *Bolachotha* and *Molakata*. In spite of all the efforts of the reformers, the Jaina men and women take part in Holi celebrations. At Dasara, they eat dainty food, and on *Makara Sankrānti*, they perform the duty of charity by giving food to cows and clothing to the poor. They observe the *Srāddha* to a certain extent, by appeasing the spirits of their ancestors once a year either on the eighth or the twenty-ninth of Āshvina

when offerings are made to them. A lamp is placed in some corner of the house, facing the quarter in which the ancestor once lived. An offering of sweet-meats is made to the lamp, and subsequently eaten by them.

MAGICO-
RELIGIOUS
BELIEFS.

In theory at least, the Jains do not believe in spirits and demons, and yet they are afraid of their attacks. The women, in particular, are throughout their life-time, in bondage to them on account of fear. They are believed to be the spirits of the departed belonging to their families. Bhūtas are very active at the Deval time, and to prevent them from going to their homes, previously they go to some cross-roads, carrying a pot of water to make a circle in the dust in the centre of which, a small cake of grain is placed. For the same purpose, virnilion, grain and something black, are all placed at the bottom of a broken plot. Demons live in pipal trees, and during the last days of the month of Srāvana, women are seen watering the trees to keep them off from visiting their families.

On the fifth day of Srāvana, Jaina women worship serpents apparently to adore the spirits of their ancestors. A picture of the snake is drawn on the walls of a room in which are placed vessels of water to pacify the spirits of their forefathers. They fear their visits to do them harm, and it is averted by surrounding the picture with water and offering little cakes to its satisfaction.

Jaina women who are childless often go to Hindu temples, and make vow to offer cradles or money in the event of their being blessed with a son or daughter, and if so blessed, they would be prepared to treat the child as a beggar for a few years without giving any name to him in order that their reproach may be taken away. All diseases of children are

attributed to demoniacal attacks. It is a general belief among Hindus of all classes that women in their monthly sickness are easily liable to their attacks. It is also believed that a woman is easily possessed when she has just bathed, when her colour is brightened by turmeric, when her hair is loose, and when she happens to go alone to a well, tank or river. Boys and girls are easily attacked when they are in fine dress or when they look pretty and smart. Jakins or ghosts are very much held in terror, because they are supposed to plague the living, especially children, by afflicting them with diseases. In such cases, an image is made and placed among the family gods for worship. Sometimes five women are invited to dine in the family, and are each presented with turmeric, vermilion, betel and wet gram. They have no professional exorcists, and their place is occupied by priests. It is also believed that there are three classes of devils: Hantukama (wishing to kill); Rathikama (wishing to enjoy); Bali-kama (wishing to get an offering). The Jains believe in the efficacy of the *mantrams*. A few are skilled magicians, others have attained yogic powers as natural results of yogic life.

The Jains, like all other Hindus believe in the existence of Hell and Heaven, where gods are supposed to be living with a variety of functions. The gods in Hell are of a low order, and are divided into fifteen grades varying in their duties all of which consist in tormenting the life of *Jiva* in a variety of ways. On the same level as Hell but in a different direction is *Pātāla*, where there are no human beings and the gods that live therein are not torturers as in Hell. They also come under two divisions, namely, *Bhavanapati*, and *Vyantara*; the former of whom are again divided into two classes. All are

JAIN
MYTHOLOGY.

distinguished by their colour and dress. Those belonging to the latter are the demons of various grades. "*Pisachas* are black bodied, and have a Kadamba tree as a symbol; *Bhutās* whose sign is the Sulasa tree are also black bodied; so are the *Yakshas* who possess the Banyan tree as a symbol. *Rakshasās* are white, and have the Kadamba tree; the green *Kinnarās* have the Asoka tree; the white *Kim-purushās*, the champaka tree; the Nāga or snake tree is the symbol of black bodied *Mahoraga*; and the last of the *vyantara* demons, the black *Gāndharvās*, have *Timbara* tree for their sign. Besides these are demons again living in the nether regions.*

"There are also, in Heaven, (*svarga*), gods of higher order, and they belong to two classes, namely, *Jyotisi*, and *Vimanavasi*. *Jyotisi* gods inhabit *Surya* (the sun); *Chandra* (the moon); *Graha* (the planets), *Tara* (the stars) and *Nakshatra* (the constellations). The Jains believe that there is a Sun that moves, and another that stands still, and that the same is the case with moon, planets and stars, and that each of them has its own gods. The class of *Vimanavasi* has also three divisions. In the first are the gods of *Dēvalōka* with variety of names. To the second belong the gods *Graiveyika* who rule over others. And lastly in *Amruttavimana* there are five places each with a god called *Indra* to rule over it. As on earth (or rather as in India) the human society consists of various grades, exactly in the same way is the divine order of beings according to the Jain Mythology. As there are sweepers who act as scavengers for men and live apart from them, so in the Heavens there are gods who do menial service for the other gods and live apart from them. The names of these gods is *Kilvisiyas* and they are practically the outcaste or sweeper gods. There are three divisions of them: those who live beneath the first and second *Dēvalōka*, those who live below the third, and those who live under the seventh; a little higher in the social scale come the servant gods (the *Tiryak Jambrik*), each of whom lives in a separate mountain in a different continent. Above them are the *Lokāntika* gods who are higher servants, and who live in the fifth *Dēvalōka*. Altogether there are in Heaven

* Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson: *The Heart of Jainism*, Chap. XIV, pages 268, 269.



JAINSVAMI AT THE MATHA.

and Hell ninety-nine kinds of gods who are regarded as menial because of their service. Over all the *Dēvalōka* there is a place called *Siddhasila* occupied by the *Siddhas*. All the gods above mentioned are in a state of happiness, eating, drinking, and singing. The superior gods known as *Samakūti*, make a point of being present to listen whenever the *Thirhāṅkaras* preach. The nominal gods called *Mithyatvi* do not attend. Even the *Samakūti* will have to be born again to attain salvation, but they will soon return to the abode there, whereas the *Mithyatvi* will have to undergo numberless rebirths. The Jains illustrate the ideas of heaven and hell by the diagram of a man's figure. The legs of the figure represent *Adholoka*, in which are situated the seven hells or *Narakas*. *Ratna Prabha*, the first Hell is paved with sharp stones; *Sarkara Prabha*, the second, with pointed stones of sugar—loaf shape; *Valu Prabha* with sand; *Panka Prabha* with mud; *Dhūmra Prabha* is filled with smoke; *Tama Prabha* is full of darkness; but *Tamatama Prabha* is extremely dark. The hideous torments are inflicted in these terrible hells by the evil gods. But in all these hells the *Jivas* have the chance to escape therefrom when their *karmas* are exhausted. Evil *Jivas*, who have been guilty of murders and similar heinous sins, are deprived of all hopes of redemption. They are subject to excruciating tortures such as having millions of red-hot needles thrust into them. Their pain is unending. Millions of such *Jivas* are condemned to *Nigodha* and there is an endless procession of them passing like a long long train of black ants, of which neither beginning nor the end is visible." To return to our figure, the waist represents the world in which we live. *Tiryakloka* is made up of two and a half islands, each of which contains a secret district called *Mahavideha* whose inhabitants are liable to get salvation. Over and above is the *svarga* or *Urāhvaloka* where the gods of the upper world live. The breast of the figure represents *Dēvaloka*, and the face *Anuttarātmāna*, the gods of which have been already noticed. The crown of the figure represents *mōksha* (salvation), and the *Jivas* that dwell there have attained salvation after re-birth.*

A Jain to become an ascetic, must begin with his initiation or *diksha*, after which, on an auspicious day, a procession is organized, and led through the

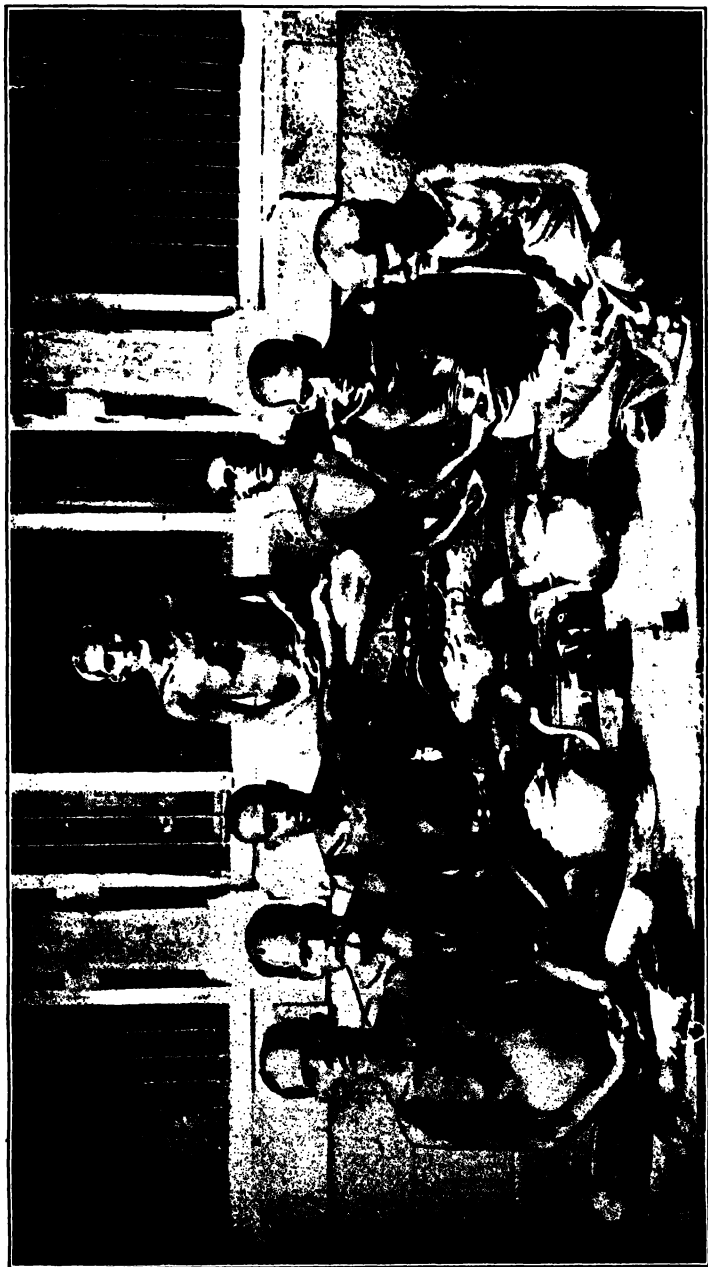
JAIN
ASCETIC
INITIATION.

* Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson : *The Heart of Jainism*, Chap. XIV, pages 271, 272.

town to a banyan tree or Asoka, where a *pujāri* or the officiating priest arranges a three-tiered platform with an image of one of the Tirthānkaras at the top. A Jaina layman begins the proceedings by the performance of the ordinary daily worship, when the candidate removes his jewels and cloths, and hands them over to his relatives. He then puts on a Sādhū's dress. An ascetic can only retain five garments (three upper and two lower ones), the colours of which vary with the sect to which he belongs. A Svētāmbara wears yellow or white with yellow over it. A Digambara ascetic wears no clothing at all, and as such is accordingly seen only in the forest. The next step in the initiation is the removal of the hair. A peculiarity of the Jain cult is that they insist on the ascetics pulling the hair out by the roots at least once a year for the first time, after which the gentle method of shaving is resorted to, leaving only a few hairs to be pulled out. These are pulled out behind a curtain in private. After this, a mixture called *Vasakshepa* is applied to the man's head, and this is the crucial point in the initiation. He is no ascetic until this is applied. When the mixture is applied, a Sādhū whispers a *mantram* into his ear. The initiated Sādhū then performs the morning worship, and the devout laymen feast the ascetics who are present. If the ascetic is a Digambara, he would take a new name; if a Svētāmbara, he might either change his name or add a new one to his old one.*

He is now a homeless wanderer, possessing nothing and dependent for his very subsistence on the alms of the charitable. He possesses no metal of any sort. In the event of his borrowing a needle, it must be returned at sunset. His spectacles should be framed

* Mrs. S. Stevenson : *The Heart of Jainism*, Chap. XI, pages 225-228.



JAIN SANTANIS.

in wood. The ascetic always has a number of clothes to strain away any insects from the water he will drink; also some wooden jugs or gourds to keep his drinking water; but no brass vessels. All monks must have a piece of cloth to wear over their mouths to guard against hurting the air itself. Svētambaras only keep this cloth in their hands. Stānakavāsis always wear it night and day. Every Svētambara ascetic carries with him five shells, and they must be spiral, and must turn to the right. Shells turning to the left are useless. They are consecrated at the time of the *pavali* festival. Ascetics have to be very careful against taking the life of any insect life, so that all the three sects furnish their ascetics with something to sweep insects from their path. Sthānakavāsis keep a long-handled brush; the Svētambara ascetics use a smaller brush, and the Digambaras, a peacock feather.

A Jaina ascetic generally rises early in the morning performs *Rayasipadikamanam*, i.e., uttering certain words confessing the sins of the past night. After this he engages in search for any insect that may be sheltering in his dress. This search is carried out as a religious duty, and any insect that may be found is carefully removed to a place of safety. The ascetic is indifferent about his bath and the cleansing of his teeth, for he is not enjoined to do them after initiation. He leaves the monastery, and goes to the temple to perform the *darsana*. When he enters the temple, he stands before the idol and bows down to it, performing at the same time, some mental exercise known as *Bhava pūja* during which he meditates on the doing of *karma*, the qualities of a Tirthānkara and similar subjects. He now performs some *pradakshina*, (circumambulation round the

DAILY
DUTIES OF
THE ASCETIC.

shrine) either four or seven times. If he does it four times, he meditates on the four *gati*, namely, whether he will be born as god, a man, an animal or a denizen of the Hell; if he walks around seven times, he thinks how he can best escape dwelling in any of the seven Hells. He performs none of the *pūjas* which a layman does. His worship is confined to almost mental and interior, and sometimes includes acts of adoration known as *Khāmasamana*, *Charityavandana* and *Javanticayanam*. He also sings some hymns in praise of the Arhanta, and then joining his hands, repeats a *mantram*. After meditating in a particular posture (Kousagga), he counts his beads making salutations to the five (Arhanta, Siddha, Āchārya, Upādhyāya and Sādhu). When he has done this and said the *Avasahi*, he is allowed to enter the worldly affairs again and feels that his *Bhava pūja* is complete. After this *Bhava pūja*, he goes back to the monastery where he either preaches or reads one of the scriptures.

At ten o'clock, one of the ascetics goes on a begging round, and as a rule, one begs for the whole monastery, while the others study. According to the scriptures, the ascetics are supposed to beg once a day, and invariably the rule is observed more in its violation than in its observance. When an ascetic goes on his round for begging, he expects to receive gifts of rice, split peas, bread, vegetables, curry, sweets and dudhapaka. Rules are different as to the persons for begging. A yellow robed Svētambara ascetic will accept food only from a Jaina, and will refuse alms from Brāhmans and other Hindu castes. The white robed Svētambara, on the other hand, will take food from Brāhmans and Kshatriyas. They go to houses which are open, and repeat the formula. They are very particular not to take the vegetable life. If, on the steps of a house, they see any green leaf

or any piece of vegetable lying, they refuse to pass over it, turn aside and go to another house. In the same way, if they see the woman of the house cleaning rice or wheat, they will not take it, but will accept rice or grain cleaned before they came on the scene. If a mother is nursing the baby and offers to leave it to go and get food for them, they refuse, lest they should be guilty of making the child cry. They never take more than what they require. They do not sit in a layman's house, but take the gift back to the monastery, and after showing it to the head, divide it with the others.

With regard to clothes, the rule is the same: an ascetic may receive them, if the householder says that he has no longer any need of them. The begging round is finished about eleven, but before breakfasting, the ascetic makes his confession (*Aloyana*) to his *guru*, and has his penance fixed. After their breakfast, they take rest till one o'clock, after which their study begins and continues till three, and the laity is so anxious that a devout Jaina often pays, a devout pandit to teach them Sanskrit or Māgadhi, but they often complain about the aversion of the monk to intellectual labour. In the early afternoon, about three to four, they again perform *palevena*, searching their clothes for insects. The same routine of begging begins about half past four, and finish their meal before sunset, and during night, they are forbidden to take even a drop of water. They do not leave the monastery after dark, but they perform their *padikamaun* there for an hour. As no light can be brought into the monastery, their work closes about nine o'clock when they perform *santhara prasi*, spending about an hour asking the protection of Arhanta, Siddha, Kevali and Sādhu.*

* Mrs. S. Stevenson : *The Heart of Jainism*, Chap. XI, pages 229-233.

FEMALE
ASCETICS.

Female ascetics (Sādhvi) are held in great reverence by the Jainas, and they follow the practices in much the same lines as the male ascetics. They also wander about in twos and threes, and have their own Apasara generally for learning. At their initiation, their hair is shaved and pulled out just like a monk, and *mantra* is whispered to them by a Sādhvi. The daily routine of a nun is precisely the same as that of a monk. The stricter ones beg only once, eat once and sleep for a few hours in a day. But these rigid rules are falling into abeyance.

FIVE GREAT
VOWS OF
ASCETICS.

The first vow of the Jaina ascetic is that he will not destroy anything. The same vow is taken by the Buddhist and the Brāhman ascetics as well. The vow "not to destroy life either five, four, three, two, one sensed even through carelessness is considered as keeping the vow of non-killing." The second vow is *asatya tyāga* which is defined thus: "Undertaking to speak what is pleasant, wholesome, and true, is called the vow of truthfulness." There is a Sanskrit verse which when translated has the same meaning. "One should respect the vow of truthfulness by always avoiding jesting, greed, cowardice, and anger and thinking before speaking." The third vow is the *asatya vrata*, "which consists in not taking what is not given"; which is the outward life of man, and if that is taken away, the man is undone. The fourth vow, the *Brahmacharya vrata*, consists in the vow of chastity which is eighteen-fold. One should have no dealings with gods, human beings, or animals of the opposite sex, should not encourage them or cause others to do, so by speech, thought or deed. The words that sum up the whole vow run thus: "The vow of chastity is maintained by

not sitting on seats previously occupied by women, female animals or eunuchs, and by not living in their vicinity, not participating in any exciting conversation." The last great vow (*aparigraha vrata*) which consists in renouncing all love for anything or any person.

The lowest of the grades is an ordinary ascetic or Sādhu. If he is Digambara, he is nude, lost to the world and immersed in meditation, eating only once a day and tearing out his hair as it grows. In these days, there are few or no Digambara of this type. If he is a Svētambara or Stānakavasi, he will move from *Apasāro* to *Apasāro* clad in white clothes.

DIFFERENT
GRADES OF
ASCETICS.

The next higher grades to which a Sādhu can rise is the Upādhyāya or instructor. The scriptures that he is expected to teach are the *Uttarādhyāna Sūtra*, *Upāsaka Dasanga Sūtra* and the *Bhagavati Sūtra*, the last of which corresponds with the *Bhagavat Gita* of the Hindus.

A still higher rank is attained when the ascetic becomes an *āchārya* or superior. In all sects, he is chosen by seniority. His selection is always made the occasion of great rejoicing. Jaina laymen come to the *Apasāro*, take the twelve vows or renew them, and sing songs making the great noise imaginable. The power of excommunicating persons for religious offences rests with him. To him, the ascetics of the *Sanga* must make confession. In fact, the *āchārya* wears the same dress, eats the same food and observes the same rule as his fellow ascetics. A Māgadhi verse describes the ideal *āchārya* as possessing thirty qualities: he controls the five senses; he is chaste in the nine ways; he keeps the three *gupti*; he is free from the four *kāsāya*;

ACHARYA.

he keeps the five great vows; he observes the five rules of conduct, and maintains the five *samāti*.

TIRTHAN-
KARA OR
ARHANTA.

The goal of every ascetic is to become finally an Arhanta or Tirthānkara, the being who has attained perfection of knowledge, perfection of speech, perfection of worship and absolute security; for no danger or disease can ever come where he is. Having reached this stage, the *Jiva* is freed from the dread that overshadows every member of the community, the fear in this life of suffering or sorrow which has to be borne with no friend at hand to strengthen or comfort. A Tirthānkara is worshipped by the sixty-four Indras; he has thirty-four special qualities of speech, and thirty-four belonging to his body which is distinguished by one thousand and eight specified marks. A proper idea of the Jaina's real conception of a Tirthānkara can be gathered from one of their prayers of adoration.

"You, I salute at various times, the Lord Arhanta. What kind of a Lord is He? He knows what is passing in your mind and my mind. He knows what is passing in the mind of every man. He knows what is going on at various times. He sees all the fourteen worlds as though they were in his hands. He is endowed with these six qualities: boundless knowledge, insight, righteousness, austerity, patience, strength. He is endowed with thirty-four kinds of uncommon qualities. He is endowed with speech. He is endowed with thirty-five kinds of truthful speech. He has one thousand and eight auspicious marks. He is free from the eighteen sins and endowed with the twelve good qualities. He has destroyed four of the hardest *karma*, and the four remaining *karmas* are powerless. He is longing to get *moksha*. He dispels the doubts of souls* with yoga. He is endowed with body, with omniscience, with perfect insight, and has the before-mentioned righteousness. He has the highest kind of *sankṣī*, which is permanent; he has Suklaesya, Sukladhyāna, Suklayoga; he is worshipped,

* I.e., *Bhāva Jiva* those souls who will eventually obtain *moksha*.

adored and saluted by the sixty-four Indras. He is the most learned pandit. He is endowed with these and other endless qualities.

"A Tirthāṅkara has still four *karmas* left which bind him, **SIDDHA.** and until these four finally snap, the *Jiva* cannot be expected to reach its final goal. When by his austerities these last are destroyed and broken, "like a piece of burnt up string" the soul loses its body and becomes a Siddha. The Siddha has the following characteristics:—Absolute knowledge, faith, insight, righteousness, and prowess. He has the power of becoming minute and gigantic at will, and of moving anywhere unhindered. He is unaffected by anything, so that neither death, disease, rebirth, nor sorrow can any longer touch him. He is also without a body, and this is why the Jainas feel they can never pray to a Siddha. A Siddha has one hundred attributes, and these the Jainas recite telling their rosary of one hundred and eight beads. The object is to stir up their ambition in order to remind themselves of the qualities a Siddha must possess, in the hope that some day they too may reach their desired goal, and rest in perfect bliss in the state of *Nirvan* doing nothing for ever and ever."*

One of the unique glories of Jainism is that it affords an opportunity for the non-Jainas to obtain *moksha* or salvation, if they follow thirty-five rules of conduct. These rules contain the pith of the Jaina creed expressed in terms of conduct.

**THIRTY-FOUR
RULES OF
CONDUCT.**

1. "He who gains his livelihood by honesty, and admires and follows excellence of conduct, and marries his sons and daughters to well-born and well-behaved folk."

2. "He is known to be afraid of committing sins, he follows the customs of his country, never speaks evil of any man and especially not of his ruler."

3. "He lives in neither too secluded nor too open a residence. It must be situated in a good locality and have good neighbours. The house must not have too many entrances."

4. "He always associates with good men, worships his parents, and abandons an unprotected place of evil reputation."

* Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson: *The Heart of Jainism*, Chap. XI, page 247.

5. "He regulates his expenditure according to his income,* dresses according to his position, and being endowed with eight kinds of intelligence hears religious discourses every day."

6. "If he suffers from indigestion, he does not eat. He eats only at fixed times. He should gain his three objects † in such a way that one does not interfere with the other."

7. "He gives alms to him who comes unexpectedly, to the Sādhu and to the poor, is free from obstinacy and has a partiality for good qualities."

8. "Knowing his own strength and weakness, he avoids such actions as are not suited to the time and country (in which he lives). He worships persons who are rigid in keeping their vows and far advanced in knowledge, and he feeds those who deserve feeding."

9. "He is provident, has more than ordinary knowledge, is grateful for what is done for him, is loved by people, is modest, merciful, of a serene disposition and benevolent."

10. "He is always intent on defeating the six interior enemies, ‡ and controls all his five senses. Such are the suggestions of a householder's duties."

"The Three Creeds (*Ratna Triya*):—The Jains sum up all their belief in the *Tattva*, in their vows, and in their rules or conduct under the heading of three jewels, namely Right Knowledge (*Samyak Jñāna*) Right Faith (*Samyak Darsana*), Right Conduct (*Samyak Charitraya*). Regarding the first jewel, there is a Sanskrit verse which signifies, "Wise men call all that knowledge, Right Knowledge, which one gets whether concisely or in detailed form from the *Tattva* as they exist."||

* The old Jaina rule with regard to the regulation of income was to divide it into four equal parts, of which they set one part aside as savings, invested another part in trade, paid all their household expenses with the third portion, and devoted the remaining quarter to charity. The rule is not strictly followed now, but it is still usual to divide the income up and apportion it, though not giving so largely to charity as in the old days.

† Every Indian, Jaina included, has four great objects in his life: *dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, *moksha* (religion, wealth, pleasure and *moksha*). A devout Jaina householder is only supposed to give attention to the first three, for if he acquit himself well in gaining these, the last will follow naturally.

‡ Both Hindus and Jainas believe that there are six interior enemies: passion (*kāma*), anger (*krōdha*), greed (*lobha*), pride (*mana*), excessive exultation (*haṛsha*) and envy (*matsara*).

|| Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson: *The Heart of Jainism*, Chap. XI, pages 243-249.

Right Faith is the central among the three jewels. For, one believes in what one knows, and he must follow it. *Samyak Darsana* stands for true faith and insight in the Jaina doctrines and scriptures. The Jains say, that to hold truth as truth and untruth as untruth, this is true faith. The Jains say that they may be right knowledge and right faith, but if they are not accompanied by right conduct, all are worthless. To the ascetic, Right Conduct signifies the absolute keeping of the five vows. His conduct must be perfect, for he must follow the conduct laid down for him in every particular. The laymen are expected to follow partial conduct. Because, so long as he is not a professed ascetic, he cannot be absolutely perfect in conduct. Right Conduct can be ruined by three evil darts or *Salya*. The first of these is fraud or *Māya Salya*, since no one can gain a good character whose life, social or religious, is governed by deceit. Even in such holy matters as fasting; intrigue can make itself felt. A second poisonous dart is false belief or *Mityatva Salya* which consists in holding a false god to be a true one, a false *guru* to be a true *guru*, a false religion to be a true religion. By doing so, one absolutely injures right knowledge and right path which lead to right conduct. This is therefore poisonous dart. The true God according to the Jains is, "He who is omniscient, free from all love of the world, and from all failings; He who is worshipped by the three worlds, and who explains the meaning of religion as it exists."

False gods are those that retain weapons and rosaries; those who are steeped in attachment, and so stained; those who are in the habit of giving and accepting favours; those who can give no help to deliverance. Equally important is the recognition of good *gurus*, especially in a land swarming with

worthless ascetics. "They who keep the five great vows, are steadfast, live only in alms, are immersed in meditation, preach, religion." "They are not *gurus* who are slaves to all desires, eat everything, have worldly possession, are unchaste, and preach falsely. A true religion is that which holds beings falling into an evil state after death. Self-control is the foremost of its ten divisions. A false religion is that which is full of false precepts, which is stained by killing, and which, even if it is not thoroughly known, is the cause of wandering through rebirths."

Covetousness (*Nidāna Salya*) is the third poisonous dart which destroys Right Conduct.

The three jewels of the Buddhists: The Buddha, the Law, and the Order; the Mohamedan triad: Happiness (*Khera*), Mercy (*Mera*), Prayer (*Bandagī*); the Parsi Trio: Holy Mind, Holy Speech, and Holy Deeds are all identical. Thus the religion of the Jains enshrine no faith in a supreme deity.

JAIN LITERATURE.

Jainism has produced so vast and varied a literature that only the leading periods of activity can be mentioned here. All the books of the canon are in *Ardha Māgadhi*, the vernacular spoken by Mahāvira and his monks. This became the sacred language of Jainism. All early commentaries on the Jaina canon as also a great deal of secular poetry composed by the Jains were known as *Jaina Mahārāstri*, a vernacular closely allied to early Mahratti. After the Christian Era, Sanscrit became the *lingua franca* of North India and there was a tendency for all religious works to be written in that language. In South India, the Tamil literature of the Jains, *Jaina Chintamani*, the finest of all the Tamil poems, was a Jaina work. Eight thousand Jains, each wrote a Tamil couplet, and the whole when joined

together formed the famous *Nāladiyar*. The *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar was the masterpiece of Tamil literature. A famous old dictionary and the great *Tamil Grammar* are also accredited to them. Jaina writers laid the foundations for Telugu and Canarese literature, and classical Canarese literature begins with a succession of Jaina writers and scholars.

When a Jaina is at the point of death, his relatives invite a *sanyasi* or *sanyasini* to preach to the patient. The ascetic is not allowed to sit, he cannot therefore preach very long at a time. A devout layman or a laywoman may be called in to supplement his work. As death approaches, the patient is urged to take the vow of giving up all attachment, all wordly things and of abstaining from all food. Enormous sums are distributed in charity by the dying man to ensure his happiness in the next world. The name of Mahāvira is whispered in the dying man's ear, till all is over. As soon as death has taken place, the body is moved from the bed and placed on the floor, which has been previously purified with cow-dung to make it a hallowed ground. The corpse is so arranged that the face of the dead is turned towards the north, and a lamp filled with ghee is lighted with wicks beside him. Directly a Jain dies, all his relatives weep as loudly as possible, and so advertise the fact that death has taken place. If she be a woman who has died, she is dressed and adorned in her best, probably in a *sari* with a silk border, a silk bodice and petticoat. Formerly, these things were burnt, but they are now removed before actual burning takes place. In the event of the death of a man leaving a widow behind, her ivory bangles are broken, one of them being tied to the bier, and the other taken to the river by some women. Even if the wife be a virgin, she

FUNERAL
CUSTOMS.

must take off her jewels, wash off the red auspicious mark from her forehead. In the case of a man, the corpse is dressed only in a loin-cloth with another to be wrapped over all. A two-anna piece is put into the dead man's mouth which will afterwards be given to the sweepers as rent for the ground on which the corpse is burnt. The dead body is placed on the bier and carried by the nearest relatives to the burning ground, where a pyre has been arranged which is lit by the son of the dead man. Women can follow the bier no further than the threshold of their house. Curiously enough, as the corpse is taken to the burning ground, they call aloud '*Rama*' '*Rama*' just like the ordinary Hindus. It is said that they do not think of the Rama of the *Ramayana*, and the word means only *Prabhu* or Lord. As the body is reduced to ashes, most of the relatives return home, but one of the party gets a water-pot from a potter, and the next of kin fills it four times at the river, and pours it over the ashes four times, and after the fourth time, he leaves the pot lying there. On the second day after the death, the near relatives all go to the *Apasaro* and listen to sermons. The bones are collected on the third day, and buried on the bank of a river, water course, or tank. Two stones are tied together and placed on a mound or raised seat, and offerings of water cakes are made to the departed soul for ten days. On the tenth day, six Jaina Brāhmans are treated to a feast to help the departed soul. On the twelfth day, the *agnates* are freed from pollution, and they are purified by a bath. On that day also, the Jaina Brāhmans and others are treated to a feast. The anniversary of death is performed for a period of ten years, for which also there is regular feast for the Brāhmans. There is no fire offering, nor any offering of rice-cakes (*pindas*). After the lapse of this period

the departed soul must be borne elsewhere or be free from bondage. In neither case, *śrādhās* need be performed, and yet they perform a *Samārādhana* every year, and that itself is a *śrādhā* which signifies that which is given in earnestness. On the anniversary days, *yatis* and friends are also treated to a feast.

The funeral of a nun is carried without the greatest pomp, and during it, childless women strive to tear a piece from the head of the Sādvi's dress, with the belief that it will ensure their having children. A cry is always sent out to tell the news of a nun's death and to ask the Jains to observe the *amara*, i.e., not to grind or pound grain or do anything that might involve the destruction of life. All the Jains who know the *loyassa* or the praise of the twenty-four Tirthāṅkaras would repeat it four times, sitting in the *Kausagga* position, either in their own houses or in the *Apsāra*, and all the Jaina schools will be closed.

There is a peculiar custom prevailing among the Jains, namely to commit religious suicide which was at one time very common and was regarded as very meritorious ; for it puts an end to a life of trouble, which is always a bondage to the soul that is being confined to the body. If the soul is released, it will be free and happy. This idea is common to all the schools of Indian philosophy. but it is nowhere said that the release can be effected by *Sāllekhāna*. Nevertheless, the Jains found a shorter cut for salvation, which is not the annihilation of the Buddhists, for the Jains believed in the immortality of the souls, nor is it a union with or absorption into godhead as with the Hindus, for the Jains have no God ; it is a happy state of being free from bondage and getting higher and higher into space. SALLEKHANA.

OCCUPATION. As a class, they are merchants. Some are petty traders dealing in cloth, grain, condiments, betel-nut and leaves. Some are cultivators. They sell mostly brass and copper vessels, and are scattered all over the country. They are thrifty, mild and orderly but not hard working.

**ROUTINE
DIETARY
OF THE
COMMUNITY.** They eat common rice and vegetables. They eat neither flesh nor drink liquor. They are great eaters, and their special dishes are *holige* or wheat bread stuffed with boiled pulse and molasses, and eaten with milk and clarified butter.

**PHYSICAL
CHARAC-
TERISTICS,
APPEAR-
ANCE, DRESS
AND ORNA-
MENTS.** The men wear sacred thread, a waist-cloth, a shoulder-cloth and red headscarf. Women wear the robe passing the skirt between the legs and drawing the upper end across the shoulder and the breast. They also wear a bodice with short sleeves and a back. The women wear the hair in a braid like the *vāni* woman, and men shave the head except the top-knot and the face except the moustache.

CONCLUSION. The Jains of Mysore have a history of their own from the time of their migration under their *guru* Sruthakevali Badrabahu. Mahavira is said to be the founder of Jainism; but the Jains entertain quite a different view of their religion which in their opinion is eternal. It has been revealed to them again and again in every one of the succeeding periods of the world by innumerable Thirthankaras. It is a monastic religion, and denies the authority of the Vedas. The Jains are therefore regarded as heretics by the Brāhmans. The ideas of Gods and spirits are either absent or merely play a secondary role. They admit of no creator; the world is eternal. They explicitly deny the possibility of a perfect being. The Jina became perfect. The religion

flourished in South India for a long time to a great extent, and considerably influenced Brahminism. The Jains contributed a great deal to the Tamil Literature. The community is purely a social institution. In spite of their revolt against Brahmanism, they observe many of the Brāhman customs. They are divided into two distinct groups.

JĀMBAVA.

INTRODUCTION—INITIATION—MARRIAGE CEREMONY—TRIBAL
ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—CONNECTION
WITH AKSALES—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUC-
TION.

THE Jāmbavas are a class of Mādigas, and are, owing to some superiority, regarded as their *gurus*. In Sanskrit classics, they are spoken of as *Kirātās* or hill tribes (*Kathā Saritsāgara* and *Raghuvamsa*). In the *Ramayana*, these hill tribes are known as *Vānarās* or monkeys under the leadership of Jāmbavan—the bear—and son of Bramba—who helped Rāma against Rāvana. This leader was very old, and most respected of them. In remembrance of this story, some among them assumed an air of superiority to the rest, and posed themselves as their *guru*. To justify the title and dignity, they grow the beard and the hair on the head, put on a turban of ochre colour, wear ashes and *addagandha* on their forehead, and a *linga* or *karadige*, but no holy thread. It is said that from the time of their birth, they become *charalingas*, and at the eighth year, they are initiated into the *dīksha*.

INITIATION.

A Jāmbava boy is bathed and dressed in a new cloth. He is given five *kalasas*, nine balls of ashes, nine pieces of cloth, and *gaddige* (*pattamane*, throne). He is enjoined to have the purity of the tongue, that is, he should always speak the truth. He is made to wear the *linga*. Finally, some *mantra* is whispered into his right ear.

MARRIAGE
CEREMONY.

Marriage ceremonies of the Jāmbavas are similar to those of the Mādigas whose girls they receive in

marriage after purification by the tying of a *linga* either round their neck or elbow. Post-puberty marriage is generally the rule. Polygamy is more common among them, than among the ordinary Mādigas. The bride price is generally thirteen rupees and eight annas, of which a rupee and eight annas is remitted. The balance comes to the same amount as among the Mādigas. The Jāmbavas have the same *gōtras* as the Mādigas, most of whom belong to Tanigebuvva section.

Jāmbavas have full power to settle all disputes (social offences and caste questions) among the Mādigas. The children born of *kudike* were not formerly allowed to enjoy all the privileges in marriage ceremonies, such as the *ariveni*, *bhashinga*, and the twelve pots. They had therefore to perform their marriage ceremonies sitting on a mat as in a *kudike* marriage ceremony. Of late, these restrictions were transgressed by the members of this community, which gave rise to factions among them, and lasted for a period of twenty years. Credit is due to the Jāmbavas who enquired into the matter, and removed the long standing restrictions. It was ruled that all ceremonies and privileges might be enjoyed by the descendants of the *kudike* union, if they would pay four annas to the *kattamane* in addition to the usual payments on such occasions.

TRIBAL
ORGANIZA-
TION.

The Jāmbavas are the worshippers of Śiva and *Ādisakti*; but one wide section of Mādigas which consists of six divisions, namely, Billora, Mallora, Amravati, Munigalu, Yenamaloru, and Morabuvvadavaru worship Viṣṇu and Srivaishṇava Brāhmanas as their *gurus*. The worshippers of Viṣṇu do not intermarry with those of other sections. Hence the Jāmbavas do not intermarry with the *Dēśabhāga*

RELIGION.

people. It is said that there are five *mathas* for the Mādigas in the Mysore State, namely, Kadave, Kodihalli, Kongarali, Nilamangala and Konkallu. But the Jāmbavas have only three, namely, Kadave, Kodihalli in Hiriyur, and Konkallu in Madakasira. These *mathas* are independent, and do not therefore pay any tribute or *kānike* to any other *matha* or authority. The heads of the *mathas* have the following privileges and honours to enjoy : (1) a *Chattri*, (2) a *Ranabhuraga* (a military drum), (3) a *Khala* (4) *Nagari*, (5) a *Surepana* (a round perpendicular parasole carried before a prince or idol), (6) a *Gagguri kolu* (a pole to which jingles are attached to sound), (7) *Kavi Kempu Jhanta*—the staff of *yatis*, and (8) *Asvavāhana* (a horse to ride on.) With these paraphernalia, they are allowed to go in procession along the route allotted to the nine *phanas*. These *matāthipathies* seldom stay in their headquarters. They go about with their family from one Mādiga village to another as *gurus*, and call themselves *pattadavuru* (installed *matāthipatis*). Leaving some elderly members of their family at their headquarters, they tour for two or three years at a time. When they go to a Mādiga village, they occupy a hut cleaned and set apart to receive them, for they do not eat flesh, nor drink liquor. They perform *pūjās* and prepare *punyāham* (sanctified water), for they have no *mantras*. They have full power to settle disputes, social offences and the like.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The Jāmbavas have a separate burial ground for themselves. They erect *samādhi* (tomb) over their graves. When a person dies, they say that he becomes Sivādhina (under the influence of Śiva). They offer *pūjās* at the grave at stated times. The corpse is carried in a sitting posture on a *kambli* (country blanket) which is held at the four corners by four

men. At home, a funeral feast *Jivatalige* is given on behalf of the spirit of the departed, and this is partaken by all the relatives. This is a custom borrowed from the Lingayets. The feet of *pattadavaru* is washed on the grave, which also is a Lingayet custom. On the third day after death, Bengal gram and jaggery are distributed. On the evening of the ninth day, a new pot is worshipped, and food is cooked in it. The spirit of the departed is invited to partake of it. An *yede* (a leaf with food served on it) is kept near the spot.

It is said that there is some mysterious relationship between the Jāmbavas and the Aksales. The former say that they have originally supplied *adigallu* to the latter. Sometimes the former claim the latter as their patrons.

CONNECTION
WITH
AKSALES.

JANGALA.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—INHERITANCE—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE caste is generally known as Jangala, but the castemen call themselves Pākanāti Jangalu Settigalu. They affix the title of *setti* to their names. The word Pākanāti signifies *arecanut*, and the following story is mentioned in connection with it. Once these people went to Śiva, and sat in his presence without the *lingam*. The Jangams present there took objection to it, when Śiva placed an areca fruit in their palm ordaining to worship it. Hence they are called Pākanāti Jangalu in contradistinction to the other Jangamas who wear pot-stone *lingam*. Even now they wear the ordinary amonite *lingam* on marriage occasions and on its completion they consign it in a purse which is preserved in a box. Jangalu is the Telugu word for Kandrada Jangalu. In the Tamil countries, they are called Jangam Āndies.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE CASTE

The caste has no endogamous groups, but there are some exogamous clans.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS.

A man may marry the daughter of his elder or younger sister. A young man may enter into conjugal relation with the daughter of his paternal or maternal aunt. Two brothers can marry two sisters. Exchange of daughters between two families is also allowed.

Girls are married both before and after puberty, but in the latter case, girls must be married within a year and a half after the attainment of age, or in some cases at any time if they do not go wrong. Formalities connected with marriage are the same as those in other corresponding castes. It is said that marriage expenses on the side of the bridegroom amount to 150 rupees and those on the bride's side fifty rupees.

A widow is allowed to marry in the *kudike* form, but she is prohibited from marrying any one belonging to her late husband, and the customs connected with it are similar to those in other Sudra castes. The bride-price for the second marriage is eighteen rupees and eight annas.

Adultery with a member of the caste is condoned on payment of a fine to the castemen ; but with the man of a caste lower in status, she is liable to excommunication. If a man and a woman are seen speaking together in suspicious circumstances, a fine of seven rupees is levied from the former and three rupees from the latter. Divorce is seldom formally practised, but the parties can separate themselves by mutual agreement. Should the wife divorce the husband, she returns the jewels to him, and is then at liberty to marry again in the *kudike* form. The husband has to pay a fine of three rupees to the castemen.

ADULTERY
AND DIVORCE

When a girl attains puberty, she becomes impure, and is at once bathed. She is dressed in her best. The services of the washerman are indispensable. He has to wash her clothes daily. She is lodged in a temporary hut made of green leaves, and three dishes, containing sweets, fruits and flowers are taken to her by five married women who allow her to partake of them, and what remains is distributed

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

among her companions who associate with her. The elderly ladies are given *pan supari*. The same formalities are gone through on the fifth and the ninth days, when her dress, and the leaves covering the shed are renewed, and the old leaves burnt. On the eleventh day, the house is whitewashed, and the earthen pots used as domestic utensils are thrown out. The girl bathes, and the members of the family also purify themselves by a bath, and renew their dress. The shed and the wooden posts supporting it are removed outside the village and burnt. The consummation takes place after this on an auspicious day. Married girls, who have attained their age, are not allowed to live with their husbands, until the consummation of marriage is over.

INHERITANCE The Jangalas follow the inheritance in the male line. Daughters are not allowed to have any share of their father's property. If a daughter happens to be the only claimant to the property of her deceased father, only a portion of it is given to her, while the rest goes to the caste.

RELIGION. In religion, the Jangalas are Saivas. Their tribal God and Goddess are respectively Virabhadra and Bhadrakālī, to the latter of whom animal sacrifices are offered. They also worship Gangamma, Nama-giri *maṭha*, near Salem, Pullur *maṭha*, to all of whom sacrifices of sheep and goats are made in times of small-pox and similar epidemics. Their help is courted to avert the calamities befalling them.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES. The dead are burnt. Some of them are carried in a lying posture, while others, in a sitting posture in a *vimāna* (vehicle). The dead body is covered with a fresh piece of cloth, and a *lingam* is tied to its right arm. The pollution is for eleven days. On

the third day, the agnates go to the burial ground to offer food to the spirit of the departed. On the eleventh day, the ashes are removed, from the cremation ground and thrown into a river. A funeral feast is also given to the castemen. Both the monthly and the annual *śrāddhas* are performed in honour of the dead.

The Jangalas were originally beggars, but they have now taken to agriculture and trade. However rich a member of the community may be, he must beg at least once a year. Some are land-holders while others are labourers. No agricultural operations are carried on Mondays. After sowing ragi, all the agricultural implements and oxen are worshipped; grass and other eatables are given to the latter at home.

OCCUPATION.

The Jangalas eat fowl, sheep, goat, fish, but do not drink liquor. Animal food is cooked in a separate room, but not in the ordinary kitchen. Holeyas, Mādigas, Dombars, Budubudike and Helavas eat in the houses of these people, who also eat in the houses of those of the Smārta Brāhmans and Gangadikāra Okkaligas.

DIETARY OF
THE CASTE.

JETTI.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
INTERNAL STRUCTURE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—RELIGION—
FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—WRESTLING AND BOXING—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE JETTIS—
APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—GAMES—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Jettis are a Telugu caste of professional wrestlers and gymnasts, who are found chiefly in the Mysore district, and in the Bangalore City. They call themselves Malla Kshatriyas or Chārura Mallas, and affix the title of Jeti or Rāju, and sometimes Malla after their personal names to denote their caste. The word *jetti* is probably a corruption of *jayeshthi* (one desirous of winning victory).

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

The caste is said to be descended from Devamallu who was created by Bramha for killing an Asura named Vajradanta. The Rākshasa had obtained a boon from Siva after performing a *tapas*, that he should be proof against Gods and martial weapons. On the strength of his acquired immunity, he set about as usual to tyrannize over the world and oppress the people. Devamallu was sent out to kill the giant in his castle called Māyavati (invisible city) but could not succeed, till by the advice of Nārada, he invoked the help of Nimbajadevi (Margosa goddess). He took him by surprise and killed the obnoxious Rākshasa and his followers without the use of any weapon, except his hard fists. After his victory, he ripped open the body of the giant, and out of his breast bone, made for himself a weapon known as Vajramushti (diamond

fist or fist as hard as diamond). On account of this meritorious service, Nimbajadevi was adopted as the tutelary *śakti* or deity of the caste, and a margosa tree is generally planted before the gymnasium maintained by the Jetties. Devamallu became the progenitor of the caste. He had ten sons who migrated to various countries, and became also the progenitors of the Jetties. One of the sons who went to the southern country was Nimba or Nimbamalla. There is also another version about the origin of the caste, which is given below. God Sri Krishna presented to the caste Dēvamony, a diamond, and ordered it to be kept in turn for tendays by the family of each of the *tengōtras* into which the caste is divided. In the usual course, it came to the family of the Visvamitra *gōtra*. There were two brothers in the family, and each fought for its possession for which the diamond had to be cut into two halves, each to retain with him one half. It was an act of sacrilege, and the *guru* cursed them, saying that thenceforward they should live by breaking each other's hand. The sons of Devamallu who migrated to different countries, became the progenitors of Jettis. One of the sons who came to Southern India was Nimba Malla.

The Jettis say that they came to Mysore from Northern India, from the neighbourhood of Delhi or Madhurāpuri. A daughter of the Emperor of Delhi who fell in love with a Jetti desired to marry him. Being afraid of the loss of caste, he and his clansmen fled from the city at night, with the aid of a Golla named Lakkaṇṇa, the gate-keeper who opened the gates for their escape. This service is still remembered by their setting apart a *tāmbula* in his name on all auspicious occasions.

The Jettis speak Telugu at home, and also use a special dialect called Mallu language which is a corrupt Prākṛit dialect.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.
ENDOGENOUS
GROUPS.

The Jettis are divided into two endogamous groups, namely, Jettis proper or Mallas, and the illegitimate offspring of jettis, known as Mallu Bachchas (children of Mallas). The members of the main group are further divided into Srirangapatna and Mysore sub-groups. All these groups intermarry and interdine, but the orthodox members of the main section do not admit others.

EXOGENOUS
CLANS.

They have *gōtras* as among Brāhmins, eleven of which are given below :—

Agastya <i>gōtra</i>	Māndavya <i>gōtra</i>
Atreya "	Parāsara "
Gargeya "	Sāndilya "
Girijākshi "	Vasishta "
Goutama "	Visvāmitra "
Kasyapa "	

In one account, Kāsyapa is omitted, and Parāsara is given in its stead. Girijākshi *gōtra* does not appear to have been derived from any *rishi*. It is an arbitrary adoption by a group that has forgotten its title. They have also family names, such as *Thipuravandlu*, *Nakavandlu* (jackal), *Airavatavandlu* (elephant), *Punguvalli vandlu* (civet cat), *Desavandivandlu*.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.

Marriage prohibitions are the same as in other higher castes. Girls are generally married before they are twelve years of age, but outside Mysore adult marriage also is allowed. Marriage ceremonies are performed according to the Brāhmanic rituals, and continued for four or five days, commencing with the worship of their tribal goddess, Nimba Devi. The bridegroom while going to the marriage booth, carries a dagger in memory of his old Kshatriya origin, and is accompanied by *Thodapindi* (the best man). A *sabha* or *darbar* is held on the third day, and on the fifth, Donga *homam* or sacrifice is



A JETTY WOMAN AND A GIRL.

performed privately with the putting of dry cocoa-nut halves, date fruits, ghee and sandal scrappings. The milk-post for the pandal is of *tiru kalli* (*Euphorbia tirukalli*), and it is supplied by the bride's maternal uncle. *Navanūlu*, a string made of 101 threads, is worn round the neck of the conjugal pair, and retained till they are joined as husband and wife.

During the marriage and other festivities, *tambulas* are distributed to the following temples and families. This distribution is known as *Dodda Viliya*. It is said that when this distribution was made by the Mysore group, the Seringapatam group withdrew from the assembly.

The deities whom the *gotrakuras* worship are given below :—

<i>Gods.</i>		<i>Gōtra of the Recipient</i>
Sri Krishna	..	.. Ātreya.
Nimbaja devi	..	.. Māṇḍavya.
Chandeswari	..	.. Gārgya.
Deva Mallu	..	... Bharadwāja.

Dasaru.

Pedda Dasalu	..	.. Sāṇḍilya.
Kurumagiru Dasalu	..	.. Gargya.
Pilla Valanga Dasalu	..	.. Bharadwāja.

Helpers.—(Ten kinds of relatives.)

Jetty Nimmayya	..	.. Agastya.
Rajagiri Nimmayya	..	.. Sāṇḍilya.
Mohana Nimmayya	..	.. Kāsyapa.
Kalabagu	..	.. Gautama.
Dondhu Jetty	..	.. Bharadwāja.
His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.		.. Ātreya.
Venka Jetty	..	.. Bharadwāja.
Golla Lakkauma	..	.. Gautama.
The Jetty caste.		

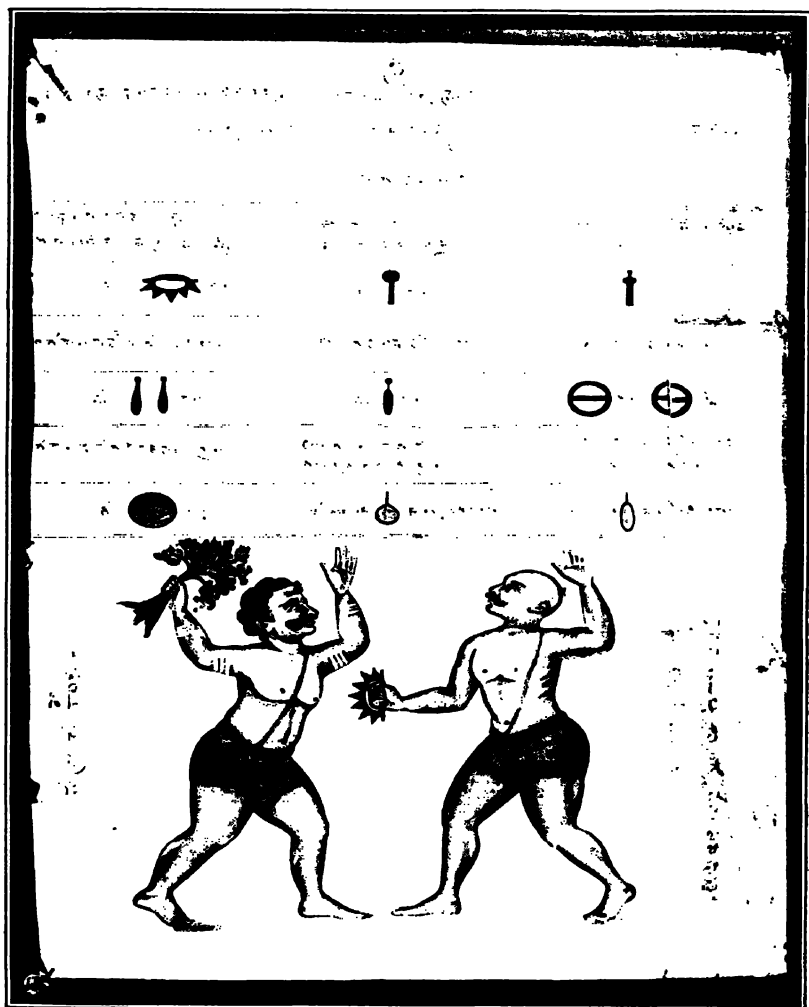
When a girl attains puberty, she is under seclusion for three days. She is purified by a bath on the

morning of the fourth day. Generally, the consummation takes place within sixteen days thereafter. When she goes to the family of her husband for the first time, she gets from her parents, presents of vessels for domestic use, a pair of clothes, bedding, and a cow. At the time of departure, as is customary with other castes, her lap is filled with jaggery, dry cocoanuts, bodice, etc.

Customs connected with adultery, divorce, widow marriage are the same as in other castes, and require no detailed information.

INHERITANCE The Jettis follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance and adoption, and practise *illatam*.

RELIGION. The Jettis are both Śaivās and Vaiṣṇavas, and put on distinctive caste-marks on their foreheads, and bodies. They worship all the Brāhmanic gods. Their special goddess is Nimbajādevi, whose temple is said to be at Dhenuvadi, Serjapur, Maramma, Srinivāsa of Tirupati, Kanakagiri or Yellamma is adored as their family deity. They also worship margosa and pipul trees, and venerate cobras. Their *gurus* are Bhattacharya of Srirangam, and Tātachar of Kāramude of the Coimbatore district. In addition to these, they pay their homage to Rāghavēndra of Nanjangud as also to the Śwāmis of Sringeri and Āvani *maṭhas*. Though many acknowledge the Sri Vaiṣṇava Śwāmis as their *gurus*, they invite Smārta Brāhmins to conduct all religious ceremonies. They perform their *sandhyavandana* (worship of Sandhya) after their Upanayanam either in the twelfth year or after marriage. On the full-moon day in Śrāvana, they celebrate the *matti-puja* in their gymnasium, which consists in collecting the *matti* (earth) into a heap, and placing a cocoanut on it with a light, and then invoking Nimbajādevi to reside therein. *Navanūlu*



IMPLEMENTS USED BY JETTIS.

(thread) is passed round the cocoanut offerings of light. Incense is burnt, and offerings of food are made to the consecrated heap. The thread is then removed, and each of the males taking part in the feast gets a portion of it, and wears round the right wrist. They observe all the Hindu fasts and festivals.

The Jettis burn their dead bodies, and all ceremonies connected therewith are performed in the same manner as the Brāhmans. With the dead body is placed an iron piece on its breast, tulsi leaves, and on its mouth, a piece of gold. The iron piece is intended to avert *vāra dōsha* (the evil effect of inauspiciousness of the day), and the last to satisfy all desires of the world. The chief mourners are under pollution for ten days, and on the morning of the eleventh day, they are purified by a bath, and taking a dose of *punyāham* (sanctified water). During the days of mourning, they abstain from having their usual caste-marks on their foreheads, from going to the temple, from taking articles of luxury, and entering the inner apartments of the house. Three days' pollution is prescribed for the death of the child or that of a daughter. They celebrate the annual *srēddha* in honour of the departed ancestors. Deceased married women are also propitiated by the celebration of *huvilya*.

FUNERAL
CEREMONIES.

The Jettis of Mysore are a settled people, who make periodical visits to the courts of the native princes for the exhibition of their feats. Their original occupation was wrestling and training in gymnastics which to some extent are pursued even now. During the Dasara festival, they go to Mysore, and exhibit their skill in wrestling and stick-turning before His Highness the Maharaja. During their

OCCUPATION.

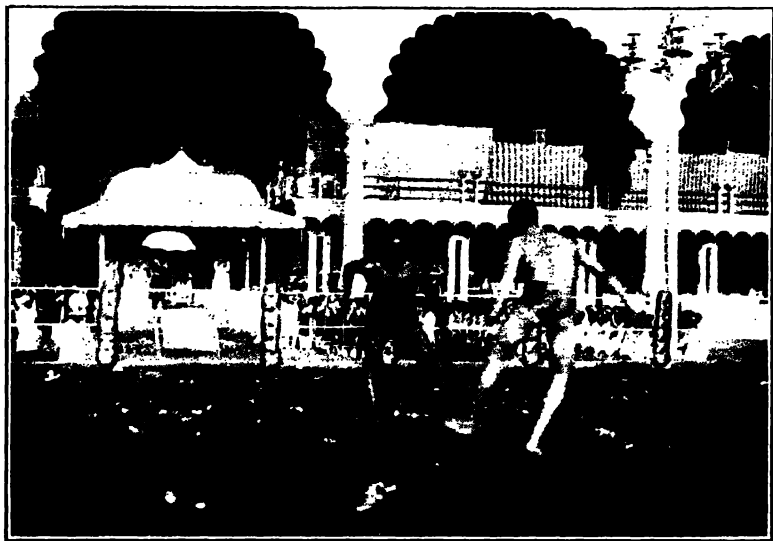
stay there; they receive rations for ten days, and return home with presents for the performance of their feats. Some among them are employed in the Government service. Some again have taken to agriculture and trade, and hold lands directly from the Government or inam lands. They are skilled in shampooing and setting bones.

It is said that the Jettis in Mysore are said to have been sometimes employed as executioners, and to have despatched their victims by a twist of their neck. "Thus in the last war against Tippu Sultan, General Matthews had his head wrung from his body by the tiger fangs of the Jettis, a set of slaves trained up to gratify the wishes of their master with their infernal species of dexterity."*

The following accounts of wrestling may be found to be interesting and are given below:—

"Maha-navami, the great Ninth, the feast being celebrated on the 9th day of the increasing moon; it is the supposed anniversary of a great event in the history of the celebrated Pāndavas. The feast is kept with a creditable degree of splendour by the present Raja of Mysore and athletic contests and various sports are exhibited before him during nine successive days. Mysore, I believe, is the only country in the south of India in which the institution of Jettis has been preserved on its more perfect forms than those which are exhibited at these interesting but cruel sports. The combatants clad in a single garment of light orange coloured drawers extending half-way down the thigh, have their right arm furnished with a weapon which for want of a more appropriate term, we shall name a caestus, although different from the Roman instruments of that name. It is composed of buffalo horn, fitted to the hand, and pointed with four knobs, resembling very sharp knuckles, corresponding to their situation, with a fifth of greater prominence at the end, nearest the little finger, and at right angles with the other four. This instrument properly placed would enable any man of ordinary strength to cleave open the head of his adversary at a blow; but the fingers being introduced through the weapon, it is fastened

* Rice: *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*.



WRESTLING MATCHES BY JETTIES.

across them at an equal distance between the first and the second lower joints, in a situation, it will be observed, which does not admit of attempting a severe blow, without the risk of dislocating the first joints of all the fingers. Thus armed and adorned with garlands of flowers, the successive pairs of combatants, previously matched by the masters of the feast, are led into the arena ; their names and abodes are proclaimed ; and after making their prostrations, first to the Raja seated on the ivory throne, then to the lattices, behind which the ladies of the court are seated, they proceed to the combat first divesting themselves of the garlands, and strewing the flowers gracefully over the arena."

"The combat is a mixture of wrestling, and boxing, if the latter be so named. The head is the exclusive object permitted to be struck. Before the end of the contest, both of the combatants may frequently be observed streaming with blood from the crown of the head down to the sand of the arena. When victory seems to have declared itself or the contest is too severely maintained, the moderators in attendance on the Raja make a signal for its cessation by throwing down turbans and robes to be presented to the combatants. The victor frequently goes off the arena in four or five somersaults to denote that he retires fresh from the contest. The Jettis are divided into five classes, and the ordinary price of victory is a promotion to a higher class. There are distinct rewards for the first class, and in their old age they are promoted to be masters of the feast."

"In an account of sports held before Tippu Sultan at Seringapatam, James Scurry, who was one of his prisoners, writes as follows :—

'The Jettis would be sent for, who always approached with their masters at their head, and, after prostration, and making their grand *salāms*, touching the ground each time, they would be paired one school against another. They had on their right hands the wood-guammootie (*Vajramushti*) of four steel talons, which were fixed to each back joint of their fingers, and had a terrific appearance when their fists were closed. Their heads were close shaved, their bodies oiled, and they wore only a pair of short drawers. On being matched, and the signal given from Tippu, they begin the combat, always by throwing the flowers, which they wear round their necks in each other's faces ; watching the opportunity of striking with the right hand on which they wore this mischievous weapon which never failed lacerating the flesh and drawing the blood most copiously. Some pairs would close instantly, and no matter which was under, for the grip was the whole ; they were in general taught to suit

their holds to their opponents' body with every part of which, as far as concerned them, they were well acquainted. If one got a hold against which his antagonist could not guard, he would be the conqueror; they would frequently break each other's legs and arms; and, if anyway tardy, Tippu had means of infusing spirit into them, for there were always two stout fellows behind each with instruments in their hands that would soon put them to work. They were obliged to fight as long as Tippu pleased, unless completely crippled, and if they behaved well, they were generally rewarded with a turban and shawl, the quality, being according to their merit.' The Mysore Jettis are said to be called in some places Mushtigas."

"The first contest was held on the 19th of July, and we went to the Haghur, to witness it. The King and the Courtiers had already arrived, and seated. They were only waiting for us and we had scarcely taken our seats, when two men half-naked, formed like Hercules himself, came forward to salute the King; then taking up their position in the centre of the circle, they fraternally embraced and closed with one another. The rule at this wrestling is that one of the combatants is to throw the other on his back, on the grounds, or at least to compel him to declare himself vanquished. When therefore one holds the other doubled up under him and cannot succeed in forcing him down, he twists his wrist and tries to break it; the other then cries for quarter. But the order they import into these games is such that very frequently they prefer to bear the pain than to confess themselves beaten, and it is abruptly necessary to put an end to the combat."

"Another sort of combat, much more terrible than already mentioned and which is to be seen only nowadays at Baroda is "N-acki-ka-kousti," that is to say, "fight with claws." Here the combatants almost naked, but adorned with crowns and garlands, tear each other with claws of horn. These claws were formerly of steel, and caused certain death to one or the other of the combatants; but they have been abolished as too barbarous for modern times. Those now in use, as I have said, are of horn, and are fixed on the closed fist with thongs. I was only once present at a combat of this kind, for my heart was so moved by the horrible spectacle, that I refused to go again. The wrestlers intoxicated with bhang, liquid, opium mixed with an infusion of hemp, sign as they rush upon one another; their frenzy knows no bounds. The King with wild eyes and the veins of his neck swollen, surveys the scenes with such passionate excitement that he cannot remain quiet, but imitates by gestures



WRESTLING MATCHES BY JETTIES.

the movements of the wrestlers. The arena is covered with blood ; the defeated combatant is carried off ; and the conqueror, the skin of his forehead hanging down in stripes, prostrates himself before the king, who places round his neck a necklace of fine pearls and covers him with garments of great value. One episode moreover disgusted me to such a degree that without any heed of the effect my sudden departure might have upon the Gaickwar, I at once withdrew. One of the wrestlers, whom the bhang had only half intoxicated, after receiving the first few blows, made a show of wishing to escape ; seeing the unhappy wretch demand quarter, turned to the King to know whether he should let the other rise, but inflamed with the spectacle the monarch cried out " Maro ! Maro !! Maro !!! " (strike) and the scalp of the unfortunate fellow was torn without mercy. When he was taken away, he had lost all consciousness. The same day, the King distributed amongst the victorious wrestlers necklaces and money to the amount of more than four hundred pounds."

The Jettis are high up in the social scale of castes and have no special disabilities.

SOCIAL
STATUS.

It is stated by some that they are vegetarians, while others say, that they take animal food. The Jettis of Chamrajnagar state that they eat in the houses of Brāhmans and Kshatriyas, while those of Bangalore and Chikballapur, say that they eat in the houses of Brāhmans only. Except Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Nagartas, Pānchalas, Lingayats, Sādars and Sātānis, all others are said to eat in their houses.

DIETARY OF
THE JETTIS.

There are very few peculiar methods of dress to distinguish them from other castes. Some of the old men stick to the old-fashioned long coats tied with strings, and wear the round *puggree*. They wear the loin cloth without dividing it in the middle by a *kachche*. The men wear the sacred thread like the Brāhmans.

APPEARANCE;
DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS.

For the daily manual exercise, the Jettis use various kinds of apparatus. They are (1) *Sangarani*

GAMES.

kallu, a flat circular stone with a hole in the middle ; (2) *Nila Jodis*, wooden clubs which give exercise to the hands and wrists ; (3) *Mallu kamba*, a wooden post fixed to the ground ; (4) *Konāta*, a kind of wooden or iron club swung in the hands and used to bend or twist the body ; (5) the *Goni kallu*, a stone used to roll on the chest ; (6) *Vajramushti*, small metal instruments tied to the palms while wrestling on the *Vijaya Dasami* day. With this weapon, they strike their adversaries on shaven heads and cause bleeding which is said to be a substitute for the human sacrifice, said to have occurred in former times.

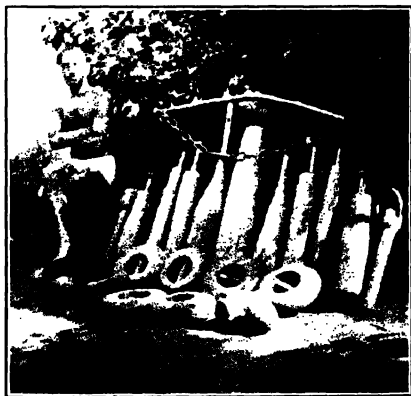
CONCLUSION. The Jettis are a caste of professional wrestlers and gymnasts. They profess to be Kshatriyas, and adopt Brahmanic *gotras*. They are both Vaishnavas and Saivas. In the art of wrestling, they have exhibited their feats with remarkable skill, and obtained great distinction in the courts of the Indian rulers. In Mysore, the institution has been long flourishing under the patronage of the rulers. During the Dasara festival in the State, the Jetti and other caste-wrestlers exhibit their feats and receive presents from His Highness the Maharaja.



JETTY EXERCISES.



ETTY AT EXERCISE.



JETTY WITH HIS SPORT MATERIALS.



ETTY AT EXERCISE.

JETTY EXERCISES.

JINGAR.

INTRODUCTION--ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE--INTERNAL
STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE--MARRIAGE CUSTOMS--RELIGION--
FUNERAL CUSTOMS--OCCUPATION--SOCIAL STATUS--DIETARY
OF THE CASTE--CONCLUSION.

THE Jingars are a caste of Mahratta immigrants into the Mysore State. They are largely found in the Shimoga District as also in Mysore and Bangalore. They call themselves Ārya Sōmavamsa Kshatriyas. In the Census Report of 1911, they are placed under the main head of Rāchavars and Chitragars in occupation. They are among the Rāchavar painters. The word Jingar is derived from the Persian *jin*, a saddle, and the traditional occupation of the caste is saddle making. It must be noted that the manufacture of native saddlery, which formerly contained no leather, but was made with cloth, felt, cotton rope, metal work, embellished with embroidery and ornamental metal bosses, involved a knowledge of handicrafts usually confined to separate castes, and thus the Jingars are also known as Jādars (weavers) and Lohars (blacksmiths). Owing to their traditional occupation of painting and metal-work, they are classed among Rāchavars. In appearance they would seem to belong to a higher social position than is usually ascribed to them, and it is fair to infer that they attained great importance in the days when the annual equipment of large military forces led to an extensive demand for saddlery. The use of leather seems to have caused some deterioration in their social status. Rao and Rāju are the titles added to the names of

INTRODUC-
TION.

males and Bai to the names of females. They speak Mahratti at home.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE CASTE

According to some, the caste had its origin from Nimisha Dēvi, but the popular version is, that they are the descendants of Mukta Deva, and must have followed the Mahratta invaders into Mysore.

When sages were engaged in sacrifices in Briha-dāranya, they were attacked by a giant named Janumandal. Siva created from a drop of his sweat, Mukta Deva, who killed the giant. The sages and gods were then pleased to make him king. He married Prabhāvatī, daughter of Durvāsa by whom he had eight sons. In time, he retired leaving the kingdom to his sons who slighted the sage Lomaharsha. They were cursed by him on that account, and eventually deprived of their kingdom, and the right of performing their vedic rites. At the request of Mukta Deva, Siva allowed them to perform the rites in private, and said that they would thenceforward be known as Ārya Kshatriyas, and would follow the eight callings, namely, painting, weaving, metal-work, pottery, etc. Chitragars of Mandla derive their origin from the people of Garha near Jubbulpore, where the tomb of a woman of their family who became a *sati* is still to be seen. Another legend traces their origin from Chitrarākha, a nymph who, skilled in painting and magic, brought Aniruddha, Krishna's grandson to Usha, and caused a war between her father and Krishna.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

Endogamous Groups.—In Mysore, the caste is divided into two endogamous groups, namely, Chitragāraru and Āre Jingars. In the Bombay Presidency, there are three groups, namely, Jingar, Chitragar, and Kadu. The members of the first two groups interdine and intermarry, while those

of the third who have violated the caste rules are shunned by the other two.

Exogamous clans.—The Jingars have both family names and *gōtras*, the former of which are Ubale, Yādav, Bhāskar, Vasishta, Kausika, Sāndilya, Viswamitra, Agastya, Gargya, and Kaundinya *gōtras*. It is said that the names of the *gōtras* are not repeated except on important occasions. It appears that they have adopted the Brahmanical system recently with the object of conforming to their Kshatriya origin, as in regulating marriages, attention is mainly paid to surnames which are exogamous.

Girls are generally married before they come of age. A man cannot marry in his own *gōtra*. Two sisters cannot be married to one man at the same time. Exchange of girls in marriage between two families is allowed. Marriage of a young man with the daughter of a mother's sister or paternal aunt is prohibited. Polygamy is allowed. There is no bride-price, but some pay a certain amount to the girl's parents to defray the expenses connected with marriage. Marriages are mostly settled by the parents of the boy and the girl in the presence of castemen. In the ceremony of *nischitārtha* the father of the boy and that of the girl put sugar into each other's mouths in token of agreement. Family gods and deceased ancestors are propitiated by each party in their respective houses, and the castemen are treated to a feast, when the bride and bridegroom elects are anointed with oil, and bathed after washing like those in other corresponding castes. On the third day after marriage, the tribal god Nimishādevi is worshipped near a well. The goddess is represented by a cocoanut on which a human face is painted. This is brought to the house, and jaggery syrup and pulses soaked in water are distributed among the castemen. On the fourth day, the couple

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS.

worship a number of turmeric balls, and an equal number of sacred strings. Every family of the caste is to be supplied with a ball and a string, and this is called *sabhāpūja*. On the fifth day, *nāgavali* is performed in the morning, and in the evening a procession is made with the couple. On the sixteenth day after marriage, the *pandal* and the milk-post are removed. In some places, the boy's father visits the girl's house five times, each time carrying with him a *sari* for the girl, after *nischitārtha* and before marriage. This is sometimes converted into a fixed sum of fifty rupees which is regarded by some as *tera*.

In Mysore, widows are not allowed to marry. A husband can divorce his wife on the ground of misconduct or incompatibility of temper. In the former case, the woman is turned out of caste, and generally becomes a prostitute. In some cases, she is allowed to come back if she pays a fine to the *guru* and undergoes a *prāyaschittam*. A widow guilty of the same offence is put out of caste.

RELIGION.

The Jingars follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance, and belong to the Hindu religion. They worship all Brahmanic and local gods, observe all Hindu fasts and feasts, and make pilgrimages to all the sacred places of the Hindus, particularly Śiva Kānchi or the modern Conjīveram, where there is a shrine of Mukta-dev, the supposed founder of the caste. All plants and animals held sacred by the Hindus are also worshipped. Jingars of Mysore are mostly Vaishnavas, and their tribal goddess is Nimishā Devi whom they adore along with Mailari Dēvaru and Venkataramaṇa of Tirupati. But they also acknowledge their allegiance to the Swāmis of Srīngēri, and Virupāksha Swāmi. They have of late begun to wear the sacred thread, and are said to perform *Sandhyā Vandanam* in the mornings and evenings.



A JINGAR GROUP.

The Jingars generally burn the dead, but the dead bodies of children that have not cut their teeth are buried. Pollution for the death of an adult is eleven days in some places and sixteen in others. They perform the monthly and annual *srāddha* for the spirit of the departed.

FUNERAL
CUSTOMS.

The hereditary occupation of the caste is said to be saddle-making, which most of them have given up. They now follow a variety of callings such as casting metals, carving stones, painting, making toys, and figures of clay and cloth, carving wood and repairing boxes, padlocks and watches. They make *vinas* or lyres. They are famous for making life-like imitations of fruits and figures of men and animals. In the Bombay Presidency, they were skilful craftsmen and were rewarded by the Peshwas by gifts of land and houses. In Mysore, their use of leather in making saddles has caused some degradation in their social status.

OCCUPATION.

Brāhmans officiate in all their ceremonies. They eat in the houses of Brāhmans. Bedas and Kurubas are said to eat in their houses. They interdine and intermarry with Chitragārs, but not with Mochis owing to their making shoes. The local barbers refuse to shave them on the ground of their supposed impurity, and this necessitates the employment of *paradesi* or foreign barbers.

SOCIAL
STATUS.

The Jingars eat the flesh of goats, fowls, hares, deer, and fish, and drink liquor. In Mysore, as in the Bombay Presidency, no caste however low eats food prepared by them. It is a proof of degradation attached to them, the cause of which is doubtless to be found in their working in leather.

DIETARY OF
THE CASTE.

CONCLUSION. The Jingars are a class of Mahratta immigrants into the Mysore State. Their traditional occupation is saddle-making, and the saddlery in former times contained no leather, but subsequently owing to their work in leather, they suffered from some social degradation. They now follow a variety of callings, such as, casting metals, making toys and figures of clay, carving wood, repairing boxes, padlocks, watches and making vinas.

HANDI JOGI.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—BIRTH CEREMONIES—CONVERSION TO THE CASTE—CASTE GOVERNMENT—RELIGION—DEATH CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—CONCLUSION.

THE Jogis are a class of Telugu beggars. In the Census of 1901, various castes such as Mondaru, Helavas and Goravas are included under the term Jogi, while Handichikkas who are no other than Handi or Pākanāti Jogis are returned as a separate caste. Mondaru and Helavas (the latter of whom are the Halemakkalu and custodians of the family history and *gōtras* of the Okkaligas and Reddis) have nothing in common with the Jogis. Mondaru, is a filthy caste, and the castemen are far inferior in status to the Jogis, while the Helavas are much higher. This caste is different from those who also are styled Jogis by reason of their having become the devotees of Chunchanagiri Bhaire Devaru. Generally one or two members in a family of Okkaligas, Bestas, Holeyas, and some other castes dedicate themselves as Jogis, and in some places entire families have become Jogis. These are gradually forming themselves into a new caste.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE
CASTE.

The name by which Jogis are commonly known is Handi Jogis in Kannada and Pandi Jogulu in Telugu. In the Hassan district, they are styled Handichikkas. They call themselves Pākanāti Jogis; Mandula (medicine) Jogi is another term which is applied to them. They are sometimes called Pandūla or Mandula Gollalu.

The term *jōgi* is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *jōgi*, that is, a man who practices *yōga*, and has renounced worldly desires. The word may have come to be applied to this caste on account of their begging habits, selling of medicines and the conjuring which they practise. They are in some places styled Jangalaru and have given up pig breeding and live by selling medicinal drugs and conjuring.

The ordinary suffix which is tacked on to their names as an honorific term is *jogi* (as Gurava *jogi*), and other suffixes such as *Appa*, and *Gadu* are also used.

The caste appears to be recruited from outcastes of Okkaligas, Bestas, Gollas and others. They profess to be descendants of a person named Pākanati Reddi by a concubine, and say that, finding their father's occupation of agriculture too taxing, they took to beggary and pig breeding. They subsequently learnt the virtues of herbs and drugs, and added the profession of physicians and snake-charmers.

These Jogis were probably a single caste in the beginning, but difference of occupation gave rise to two divisions, Pākanati Jogis and Pamula Jogis. Intermarriage is not allowed between them, but they do not object to mess together.

Jogis have the following exogamous clans :—

Binatavallu.	Pindiralollu.
Chirukurivallu.	Sivaralollu.
Dasaripurivallu.	Sirarapuvallu.
Gudilollu.	Samatavallu.
Gollarivallu.	Sappadivallu.
Indukurivallu.	Taravallu.
Jallivallu.	Ulavalavallu.
Mopurivallu.	Vagitavallu.
Origantavallu.	Vadapillavallu.

LANGUAGE.

The language of the Handi Jogis is Telugu, and they know also Kannada, the language of the country.

Marriages among the Jogis are almost always adult, and a wife may be even older than the husband. A woman may remain unmarried, and may enter into conjugal relations in a modified form with any lower in status after paying a fine to the caste ; and her previous children are thereafter regarded as those of the marriage. With regard to the marriageable relations, they observe the prohibitions that are observed by other castes. Polygamy is allowed and practised. It is not uncommon for a Jogi man to have more than one wife ; one being regularly married and the other or others being either *kūdi* wives or concubines. Polyandry is unknown.

Negotiations for marriage are always commenced by the parents of the boy. They do not consult any Brāhman for bestowal of their names or even for an auspicious day. As they are a wandering tribe, they generally celebrate a number of marriages together at a time settled by previous consultation. The time considered most proper for marriage is the beginning of the new year.

As usual, the bridegroom's father goes to the girl's house to settle the marriage, and when agreement has been arrived at, he pays down half the bride-price and delivers one pig. Neither party may then withdraw without rendering himself liable to a fine to the castemen.

When the marriage commences, two huts are put up one for each party, and it is said, however well-to-do a Jogi may be, he must celebrate the marriage before a hut. Two *pandals* each on twelve pillars are erected, on a Sunday, Monday being *dhare* day, and two milk posts are set up therein. In the evening, their god Ankamma is worshipped by installing a *kalasha* in the hut. A sheep is sacrificed before it, and a dinner is given to the caste men. The bride and the bridegroom are smeared with turmeric, and then

two sets of *arivenis* are brought and set up in each marriage hut, a lamp being kept burning near them. Early next morning, a party of married women bring water and decorate the *ariveni* pots. The bridal pair are seated before the pots, and are smeared with turmeric and undergo the nail-paring ceremony. Then they bathe and are brought to the bride's *pandal* dressed in new clothes as in other castes. As the bridegroom and his party approach the place, they are stopped by a party of the bride's relations who hold a rope across the path. After a mock struggle in which he is worsted, the bridegroom pays down one rupee to his opponents who thereupon allow him to pass into the *pandal*. The ceremonies of *tali*-tying,* rice pouring and *kankana* tying, are proceeded with. With their garments knotted together, and holding each other by the hands, the couple walk round the milk post and make *pūja* to the *ariveni* vessels in both the *pandals*. Then the pot searching ceremony and the eating together of *buva* take place. The proceedings are wound up with a dinner at which large quantities of toddy and arrack are consumed.

On the next day takes place the *nāgavalī*, which consists merely of offering a *pūja* to the milk post and pulling it down. In the evening, the worship of *simhāsana* is held. The boy's father puts down what amount he can, and with folded hands begs the assembled guests to be satisfied with what he can afford. Then the betel leaves and arecanuts laid in a heap for *simhāsana* are distributed in a prescribed order. Some liquor is also provided.

Jogis do not invite any Brāhman priest for a marriage, which is conducted by the *yajamān* of the caste.

* Which in some places is a string of black beads.

The bride-price varies from ten rupees to forty rupees.

When the parties are too poor to incur the expenditure for marriage, both of them with the permission of the headman of the caste, go about separately begging for donations either in money or grain, and the collections are supplemented by subscription among the members of the caste. The impediment to the marriage is assumed to be due to the sin of having killed a domestic cat in a former birth. A female cat is therefore worshipped to remove it. A yellow thread is tied to its neck by the bridegroom and turmeric paste and *kunkuma* are smeared on it.

When a girl attains puberty, she is impure for three days, and is made to remain in a separate hut of green leaves put up for her by her maternal uncle. The hut is burnt down after her purification on the fourth day. The maternal uncle has to make a present of three rupees either in money or in kind to her. The girl is not considered free from impurity for a month more. After marriage, no other ceremony is observed for the consummation. The girl begins to live with the husband directly after the marriage ceremonies are over.

PUBERTY.
CUSTOMS.

Widow marriage is freely allowed. It is said that a Jogi woman like that of Oddans may marry seven times. Her children do not suffer from any disabilities. A widow is not permitted to marry a brother of her late husband, but if she is kept by him as a concubine, no notice will be taken of the liaison and the issues and they are admitted as members of the caste. A bachelor may marry a widow, though the alliance does not give him the status of a married man for all purposes. The man who wants to marry the widow gets permission from her father. He

WIDOW
MARRIAGE.

then goes to the head of the caste and pays him a fine of half a rupee to obtain his leave. Then on the evening of an appointed day, he invites some castemen and the *yajamān* gives the bride new clothes and glass bangles which she puts on, and ties a *tālī* to her neck. The *kolkar* of the caste announces that the couple have become man and wife, and all are served with dinner at the cost of the husband who has also to supply a large quantity of toddy.

ADULTERY
AND
DIVORCE.

Divorce is very easily obtained. The mere expression of a desire by either party to be freed from the union is enough. But as a matter of fact, such divorces are not so common as may be supposed. The outward symbol of a divorce is the return of the *tālī* tied by the husband and the tearing of the loose end of the garment by him. The divorced woman may marry another man in *kūḍike* form or may remain a prostitute. If, without a divorce, a man elopes with a married woman, he has to pay marriage expenses and a fine of eighteen rupees to the caste. Adultery is punished with a fine, and an adulterous woman may be claimed back by her husband with any children she may have. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant by a man of the same caste, she is married to him in *kūḍike*. If he refuses to marry her, he is fined 24 *varahas*, and she is purified by applying to her forehead holy ashes obtained from the *guru*. Sexual morality is generally lax and prostitution is common.

BIRTH
CEREMONIES.

The practice of bringing the daughter to the father's house at the time of delivery is in vogue in this caste also. In fact, generally after marriage, the son-in-law lives with his parents-in-law in a separate shed till he has a child especially if the *tera* has not been paid, and then he goes to his parents with his wife and child. When the woman has gone

seven months in pregnancy, she has to offer *pūja* to goddess Ankamma. On a Tuesday or a Friday, selected for this worship, the pregnant woman bathes in the morning and fasts till the evening. In front of her hut, four stakes are driven into the ground at the corners of a rectangle. A cloth is stretched on them so as to form a cradle. A pot of toddy with a coloured thread tied to its rim is placed near it and worshipped with flowers and *kunkuma* powder and a pig is sacrificed. An egg is rocked in the cradle and the goddess is invoked to bring about a safe delivery.

A dinner is given for which a sum of three rupees is spent in providing toddy. The omission of this ceremony is not only believed to cause risk of danger to the woman at the time of delivery but also subjects the family to a fine of ten rupees to the caste. On the birth of the child, the confined woman and the midwife attending on her are in pollution for four days and are lodged in a separate place. If the child is a male, the caste headman has to be paid a *hana* (4 as. 8 pies) and half that sum, if it is a female. A dinner with toddy is given to the castemen. The midwife is presented with a *hana* and the child is named that evening. The name that is most popular among them is *guruva*. Opprobrious names, and nicknames are very common. A son born after a number of deaths has his nose pierced and a ring put on, to deceive fate to let the child alone as being only a female.

They admit freely Bestas, Kurubas, Bedas and other castemen after the recruits have paid a fine and given a dinner. Those once thrown out of caste may be similarly taken back.

CONVERSION
TO THE
CASTE.

The Handi Jogis are under the jurisdiction of two Lingayat *mathas*, those living north of Bangalore

CASTE
GOVERNMENT

being under the Parvata *maṭha* in the Bellary district and those living south of Bangalore being under the Jigur *maṭha* in the Salem district. The heads of these *maṭhas* send out their agents generally once in three years for collecting their dues and each married man has to pay Rs. 1-8-0. Sometimes the headman of each group of Jogis himself collects the money and carries it to the *guru*.

After receiving the contributions, the *guru* gives them *tīrtha* and *prasāda* and allows them to wear *joliḡe* (a begging pouch), *vibhūti*, and *rudrakshi*. If any one omits to pay up these dues, the *maṭha* representative forcibly takes away from him the begging pouch, and from that time, he loses caste, and is not allowed to beg.

Each of the larger groups named above is presided over by a *yajamān* who is vested with the authority of punishing breaches of caste rules. These groups are divided into smaller groups at the head of which is a Buddhivantudu who is appointed by the head *yajamān*, and has powers delegated to him by the latter. This man settles minor disputes, and when any important dispute is brought to him, he submits it to the head *yajamān*. He also collects fees due to their *guru* and pays them over to the *yajamān*.

Bandāri is another whose function is to smear Bandāram (*vibhūti*, etc.) on the forehead of any person who has to be purified. He is the servant who has to muster people for meetings. These offices are hereditary. The *yajamān* gets a fee of one rupee as a perquisite at every marriage in addition to betel leaves and nuts and receives no money payment.

It is said with some truth, that Jogis never resort to courts, but settle all their disputes among themselves, and that those who transgress this rule are subjected to a fine. Offences are tried according to their importance by various tribunals, beginning

with a Buddhivantudu for trivial cases and going to the *yajamān* of a group, a *panchayet* of several groups and to the *guru* of the caste. The decision of the caste is final and if the party fails to submit to it, he is put out of caste.*

The Jogis do not shave their heads and beards. They are poorly dressed, the men being clad in a dirty loin cloth, a waist band of cotton and a *kambli*. The women wear a *sari* and a *ravike*, and have strings of glass beads of all colours round their necks. Men have always a pouch slung over their shoulders in which they keep *pan-supari*, and carry an additional pouch when on their begging rounds, to hold their medicinal drugs and some pieces of stone, which they call jackal's horns.

The religion of the Jogis is a mixture of several RELIGION. beliefs. They are Saivas and follow the Lingāyat *mathas* of Parvata and Jigur. They have also adopted Vaishṇava gods as family deities and go on pilgrimage to Tirupati and other Vaishṇava shrines. But their tribal gods are Yellamma and Gurumūrti in whose honour they hold annual feasts. Yellamma's feast is celebrated just after the Lunar New Year, and all the families in the neighbourhood join together. A new hut known as God's hut is put up and fresh pots are procured. The pots are filled with toddy and decorated with turmeric powder and garlands of *margosa* leaves, with a *tālī* having

* The following are some offences which are settled by the functionary.
Abusing caste people or beating them. Fine up to 4 *varahas* or Rs. 12.

A married woman remaining outside alone for one night. Fine Rs. 1.
These two the minor Yajaman or Buddhivantudu settles.

Adultery with a married woman. Fine up to 6 *varahas*.

Elopement with an unmarried girl living with parents. Fine up to 24 *varahas*.

Readmission of an out-casted man or woman. Fine up to 1 *varaḥa*.

These are to be submitted to the *yajamān*.

an effigy of the Goddess. Offerings of cooked food are placed before the toddy pots and a black he-goat is sacrificed. The women beginning with an elderly member who has been fasting, pour the toddy from pot to pot so as to bring up the froth. This is known in their language as *Saku Posedi*, and if the froth rises high, it is deemed a sign of prosperity to the community. The turmeric powder and margosa leaves are distributed, and toddy is given for the drinking of all the members who often get intoxicated. This is followed by a feast and they carry away some of the *prasada* when they disperse.

Gurumurti's feast is held on a Monday in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April). For this also, a general invitation is issued. The deity is represented by a *trisūla* (trident) with an effigy in a *tālī* tied to it. Animal sacrifice is offered at the *pūja*, but liquor is eschewed.

They also worship *Iragāraru* (deified bachelors) to whom, however, no animal sacrifices are made. They also worship the village goddesses, such as *Māramma* and *Gangamma*. *Ankamma* is another goddess whom they worship when a woman is pregnant. *Donkamma* is said to bring on disease to their pigs, and has therefore to be propitiated by the sacrifice of a pig. They consider the Margosa tree as very sacred and do not cut it in any circumstances.

DEATH CEREMONIES.

The dead are always buried. The body is washed and clothed and the forehead is marked with *vibhūti*. It is then placed in a sitting posture on a date mat spread on a plank. All the relatives throw raw rice on the eyes. Some rice cooked in a pot is carried in front of the corpse while it is taken to the burial ground and rice is strewn before it. On approaching the grave-yard, the corpse is carried three times round the pit, and is lowered into it and kept there in

a sitting posture facing the south. All the clothes and jewels on the body are then removed and a live chicken and salt are placed in the armpit of the corpse. A plantain leaf is placed on the head and the pit is filled up. A mound is raised on the spot, and on it are placed a *vibhūti* lump, betel leaves and nuts and four pies. Then all go to a water course, wash their hands and feet, and return to the hut where a light is kept burning at the place of death. The assembly disperse after taking toddy at the expense of the mourner.

On the third day, they cook rice, eggs, gingelly oil, cake, dry fish, and some other near agnates take it to the grave, and offer it on an earthen dish kept in a small shed constructed there. They burn incense, and retire to a distance to allow the spirit of the deceased to eat it. The food is then removed and thrown into water, and all return home.

On the eleventh day known as the *Pedda Dinam* or great day, the hut is cleaned with cowdung and water and all the old earthen pots are thrown out, and new ones substituted. The sons and other agnates bathe and go to the graveyard taking with them some food cooked as on the third day. Two new cloths, one measuring twelve cubits, are taken. The smaller cloth is spread on the grave and the food is offered thereon. If the deceased be a married man, his wife's glass bangles are broken and the *tāli*, and the toe rings are removed. Then a widow throws the twelve cubits of cloth on her head. If the deceased be a married woman, her husband is made to stand before the grave and a widower related to him as a brother-in-law throws the cloth on his head. Then the food is offered to all the deceased ancestors who are invoked by their individual names.* Then

* The Pamala section eat this food but the others throw it into water.

all go to a water course where a rude earthen image is made on a mound and placed to represent the deceased, and food is offered to it. The food is buried in this grave which is styled *Buruda Samādi* (mud grave), and a washerman pours water on their heads. While returning home, they purify their bodies by treading on a lump of cowdung placed on their way. The relatives stand near the hut, and give to members of the deceased's family bits of betel leaves which they chew and spit out. A feast is held in the evening for which a goat of a different sex from the deceased is killed. They perform a *pūja* with incense to the spirit of the deceased who is invoked to protect all the surviving members of his family and clan. At the end of a month, another ceremony is held which completely removes the pollution. They do not observe *śrāddhās* but on important feasts such as Yugādi, Mahānavami and Dīpāvali, they burn incense and offer cocoanuts to all the defunct ancestors in a body. They believe that bad men become evil spirits.

OCCUPATION. Jogis are beggars, pig breeders, and herbalists. They are a wandering tribe and always take their pigs with them. Some have taken to agriculture and a few are day labourers. It is said that they should not handle a shovel or carry earth on their heads. If they do so, they are fined four *varahās* by their headman. The medicine men hawk their drugs singing out the names of several diseases which they profess to cure. They are general suppliers to all the druggists in large places, and for collecting drugs, they go to Bababuden Hills near Chikmagalur and sometimes, to more distant places such as Bijapur in the Bombay Presidency. Recently, they have been included in the category of criminal classes, as they are addicted to theft and robbery, and are frequently placed under Police surveillance.

Their women sell glass beads and needles and go for begging in which they exhibit considerable persistency.

Jogis rank very low in the social scale, and are generally filthy in their habits. They do not eat in the houses of Agasa, Koracha and other low classes. Madigas and Holeyas eat in the houses only of such settled Jogis as are known to them. SOCIAL
STATUS.

The wandering Jogis always encamp on the outskirts of villages, usually on a level dry bed of a tank. Their huts resemble the tops of country carts covered with date mats, and open at the front. Even those who have settled down in villages and have built houses have to put up huts for such important ceremonies as marriage, and the worship of their God. These have pig-sties in their fields outside the village. They employ donkeys as beasts of burden.

They follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance.

The Handichikka or Handijogi caste is traced to the Pakanāti sub-section of the jogi to which it belonged some five generations ago, when the traditional calling was buffalo-breeding. But subsequently they degenerated to pig rearing, whereby they came to be known as Handijogi or Handichikka, Handi being the Canarese name for pig. They have two endogamous groups, namely, Turukanya and Karnataki; the members neither eat together nor intermarry. Among them puberty is a bar to marriage. Adultery among them is liable to divorce. Divorced women and widows remarry. CONCLUSION.

KAHAR.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—
 MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—
 OCCUPATION—FOOD—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUC-
TION.

THE Kahars are immigrants from the Bombay Presidency. It is said that their forefathers were *pālki* bearers in the train of the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb. They have at present no connection with the parent stock in Northern India, and have adopted the customs and manners of the local castes of similar social standing.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE.

There are no endogamous groups of this caste, neither have they any exogamous clans. But they have families bearing surnames. Members of families having the same surname cannot intermarry. The following are some of the surnames:—Bhandare, Gāngole, Kachare, Lachure, Lādke, Pādre, Simbre.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS.

A member of the caste cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter. He may marry two sisters, and two brothers may marry two sisters. The habit of the caste is settled, and outsiders are not admitted into the caste. Boys are married between ten and twenty-five, and girls before they come of age. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown.

The marriage ceremonies of the Kahars are similar to those of the Mahrattas. The most important of these are:—the installation of the Devak which consists of the leaves of the Chami (*Prosopis spicigera*). These are tied to a post of the same bush planted in

the marriage booth, and to this is tied a turmeric root in a piece of yellow cloth. An earthen jar and a lid are brought in procession from a potter, placed near the Devak and adored. Rubbing the bride and bridegroom with turmeric, *kanyadan* or handing over of the bride to the bridegroom, and *Saptapadi* or walking seven times round the sacrificial fire, are the same as in other castes.

Widow marriage is allowed. The ceremony consists in putting on of a new robe and bodice by the widow, after which *kunkuma* is applied to her forehead. Should a bachelor desire to marry a widow, he is first married to an ear-ring worn by him. A husband can divorce his wife on the ground of her misconduct. A divorced woman can marry again after the fashion of widow marriage.

The Kahars follow the Hindu law of Inheritance.

They believe in all Brahmanic and village Gods, and worship them. They observe all Hindu holidays, and Brāhmans are their priests. RELIGION.

The married dead members are burnt and the unmarried buried. Their death ceremonies are like those of the Kunbis. They perform *Srāddha* for the spirit of the departed. FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The hereditary occupation of the caste is palanquin-bearing, and catching and selling fish. Some grow vegetables and tobacco. OCCUPATION.

They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, and game animals but not of game birds, and eat at the hands of Kunbis. FOOD.

KARE OKKALU.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—HABITATIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—CASTE ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Kare Okkalus or black Okkalus are a cultivating sub-caste of Okkaligas, living in the taluks of Sorab and Sagar, as also in the adjoining district of North Canara. Their number could not be ascertained, because they were returned in the last census, under the major head of Okkaligas. They speak Canarese like the Halvakke Okkalu; a few speak Konkani. The common names among them are Karia, Giriya, Siva, Thippa, Venka and Timma; and among women Rami, Gangi, Gubbi, Doddakka, Sannakka, and Subbi. The men add Gauda to their names.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

The caste has no endogamous groups, but it is divided into several exogamous sects or *balis* the names of which are given below:—

Arashina bali	..	Arashina—turmeric (<i>Curcuma longa</i>).
Chendi do	..	Chendi—a tree (<i>Cerbera odallam</i>).
Honne do	..	Honne—a tree (<i>Pterocarpus-marsupium</i>).
Shetti do	..	Shetti—a fish.
Migan do	..	Miga—a chital (<i>Axis maculala</i>).
Shire do	..	Shire—a tree (<i>Gynandropsis pentaphylla</i>).
Vadkan do	..	(Unknown).

The trees and animals giving their names to these divisions are treated with respect, and are never cut or injured in any way by the members of the



A KARA OKKALI MALE GROUP.

division called after them. The *bali* is traced through males.

The houses of Kare Okkalu are the same as other cultivating castes. Some of them are mere huts of palm-leaves and straw.

HABITATIONS.

Both infant and adult marriages are common among them. The girl's father is paid a *tera* of eight *varahās* or thirty-two rupees. A widow's father gets twenty rupees. Customs connected with marriage, puberty, ante and post-natal ceremonies, adultery, divorce, and widow marriage are the same as in the other corresponding castes.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS
AND CEREMONIES.

The castemen have three *kattemanes* :—(1) Gutte Sima Katte, (2) Sorab Sima Katte, (3) Biliji (North Canara) Sima Katte, each *kattemane* of which is presided over by a Gauda, who has a jurisdiction over several villages. In each village, he has a representative who is called *Buddhivanta* (wise man). It is he who first enquires into the social disputes of the castemen of the village with the help of a servant called *Kolkar* (peon). All these offices are hereditary.

CASTE
ORGANIZATION.

The Kare Okkalu are both Saivas and Vaishnavas. Komara Rama and Renukamba of Gutti (Chandragutti) are specially worshipped. Their *guru* is a Śrivaishṇava Brāhman. Their chief objects of worship are Venkataramana of Tirupati, Jataga, Hulidev or the tiger god, Karidev of Sivegulli in Ankola and the village mothers, Ammas or Saktis to whom they offer periodical sacrifices. They have a strong belief in ghosts, sooth-saying, and witchcraft.

RELIGION.

The Kare Okkalu either burn or bury the dead. Food and milk are offered to the spirit of the departed

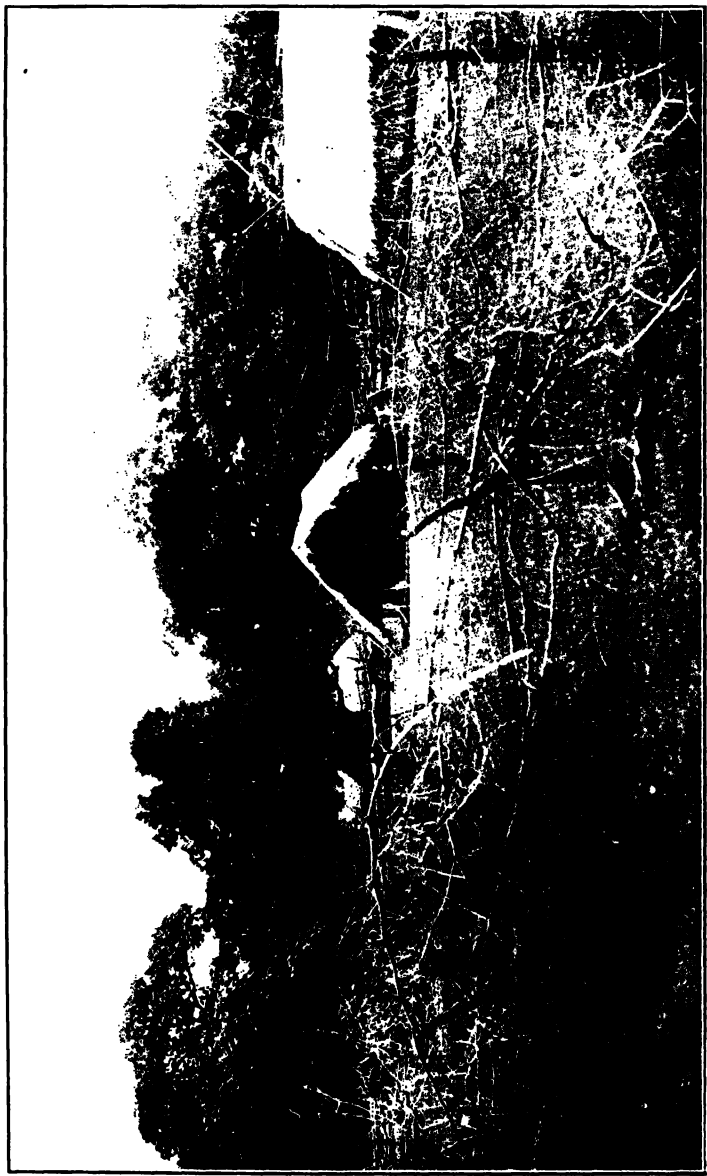
FUNERAL
CEREMONIES.

for the first time on the fifth day after death. If the deceased is an elderly person, the ceremony is repeated on the eleventh day. A member of the caste called Gadiga is invited to be present near the grave, and he soon becomes possessed, when he says that he has purified the departed soul, and that he is in the company of his ancestors. The members of the family are pacified with the consideration that the departed spirit will do them no harm. The castemen do not perform any *srādhā*, nor do they perform any ceremony during the *Mahālaya*.

OCCUPATION. The Kare Okkalus are husbandmen and field labourers, and are sometimes tenants. Very few hold lands. Their form of tillage is *kumri* or wood-ash tillage. It is said that some of them burn patches of forest land to rear crops of ragi and vegetables.

SOCIAL STATUS. The Kare Okkalus rank below the Atte Okkalu. The former eat in the houses of Komatis, Halepaikas, Bestas, Agasas, Holeyas, and Madigas eat in their houses. They do not take food in the houses of Kotte Okkalu and Kumbaras. The habit of the castemen is settled.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE. The ordinary food of the Kare Okkalu consists of rice and ragi, but they eat fish, fowls, sheep, goats, and wild animals, such as pig and deer. They drink liquor, though the practice is condemned.



KACHA GAULIGA HABITATIONS.

KACHA GAULIGA.

INTRODUCTION—HABITATIONS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—DIVORCE—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—TRIBAL ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE TRIBE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

THE caste is known also as Dhangar Mahrattas the members of which belong to the forest tracts of Yellapur and Huligal. There are twenty-five families of them living in various parts of the Shimoga District* a few families of which came under my observation near Anantapur, about 20 miles off from the town of Shimoga. The word Dhangar is derived from *dhenu*, meaning a cow. They keep both buffaloes and cows. Their home language is Mahratti, but they speak Canarese also.

INTRODUC-
TION.

The Gauligas live in huts with walls of wattled reed and roofs thatched with leaves and straw. In most cases, the roofs touch the ground, and a trench is dug around them to keep off rain water from entering inside them. In front of or close to the huts are enclosures for the buffaloes to take rest during night. To prevent the attacks of wild beasts, fires are burnt during nights. Like the Banjiras and other tribes, they have no kitchen gardens, but grow one or two varieties of cucumber during the rainy months when no water is necessary.

HABITA-
TIONS.

* The caste is very widespread all over the Bombay Presidency, the Central Provinces, Berar, the United Provinces and Central India, *B. T. C.*, Vol. I., page 311.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE CASTE

There are as many as 23 endogamous groups recorded in the *Tribes and Castes* of the Bombay Presidency. The tribe that lives in the State has only one. The following are their exogamous clans :—

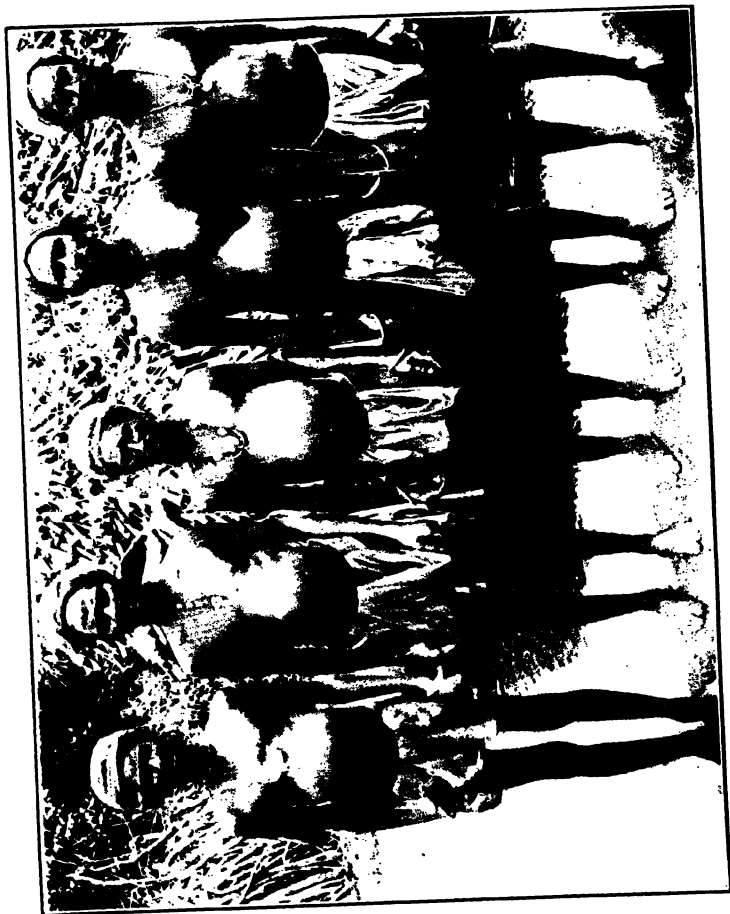
- | | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1. Adulkar. | 8. Nangala. |
| 2. Bedka. | 9. Patakar. |
| 3. Gurkya. | 10. Phaddare |
| 4. Howna. | 11. Scindia. |
| 5. Jhora. | 12. Tata. |
| 6. Kharat. | 13. Yadage. |
| 7. Lambar. | |

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS.

Marriage is prohibited within the clan as also within the totem. A Gauliga cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter, but may marry his father's sister's daughter. No prohibition exists against the marriage of two sisters. Two sisters can be married to two brothers. As a rule, girls are married before puberty. At present, adult marriage is also in vogue. Sexual intercourse before marriage is strongly condemned. The boy's father goes to the girl's, and settles the marriage in the presence of some of the members of the caste. Betel leaves, areca-nut and cocoanut kernel are served, and the boy's father pays from twenty to forty rupees in cash, and about thirty rupees in ornaments. The boy is given a turban, a waist cloth, a pair of shoes, a brass dining dish, and a drinking vessel. The women also forming a party visit the girl's family with betel leaves, arecanut, a cocoanut (*kopra*), date palms and fruits. A priest of the Yadage, Lambar, Bedka, accompanies the party to fix an auspicious date for marriage. Five rupees is paid to the girl's father. Cocoanuts and other articles are distributed to those present there then. Marriage ceremony takes place fifteen or twenty days thereafter.

MARRIAGE
CEREMONIES.

For the marriage ceremonies of the Gauligas, a *pandal* is put up in front of the houses of the bride



A MALE GROUP OF KACHA GAULIGAS.

and bridegroom. Their marriage ceremonies are similar to those of the Kunbis. The essential and the binding portion of the ceremony is an oath by the bridegroom to protect the bride, who on her part is made to swear lifelong obedience and fidelity. In some places, *dhāre* ceremony is said to take place. The ends of their wedding garments are tied into a knot in token of perfect union. In some places, the throwing of rice or wheat grains over the heads of the bridal pair is deemed sufficient to consolidate a marriage. The *tali*-tying along with the *bhashinga*, *mukhadarsana* (the bridegroom seeing the bride for the first time), as also *Arundhati darsana* are also said to take place. The marriage lasts only for one day. The bridegroom's party are entertained. The bride's parents give milking buffalo. It is said that the marriage expenses amount to 100 to 200 rupees.

When a girl attains puberty, she is lodged in a separate hut, and is under seclusion for four days. On the evening of the fifth day, she is bathed, and is taken to her house, when she and the relatives are treated to a feast. Nuptials take place after two or three weeks. The husband and wife share the same bed on an auspicious night when the other inmates sleep outside. Sometimes a separate house is also put up.

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

When she becomes big with child, the relatives and friends are treated to a feast during the fifth month, when she is given a new *sari*.

When the pregnant woman is suffering from pangs of childbirth, she is generally located in a separate hut, when her own mother and some elderly woman attend on her. After delivery, she is bathed in warm water. The baby is also well washed. The woman in confinement is left to a prescribed course of diet. She is taken to a river or tank on the sixth day to

perform the Ganga *puja*. After bath, she returns home. Naming and cradling take place on an auspicious day thereafter.

The names in common use among men are Babayya, Parsiya, Kedari, Piraji, Sahaji and Ninga, and among women Narsi, Koini, Ganga, Gaudu, Bhavani, Satu and Baija.

On a lucky day, during the third year, tonsure takes place. A sheep is sacrificed and a feast is held to which the castemen are invited.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. A widow cannot marry a member belonging to her deceased husband's or her father's surname. Her marriage with the son of her maternal or paternal aunt is never allowed. Money is paid to the relations of her husband without whose consent the marriage cannot take place. Sometimes the permission of the headman is also necessary. It cannot take place during the month of *Āshād*, *Pushya* and *Bhadrapād*.

DIVORCE.

It is allowed on both sides in the event of any permanent misunderstanding between the husband and the wife. The divorced wives are at liberty to marry again after paying the first husband the marriage expenses incurred by him. In the case of the woman divorced for adultery, remarriage is forbidden unless the adultery committed is with a casteman or a member of the higher caste in which case the sin can be expiated by a fee and giving a feast to the castemen.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Gauligas follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance and Adoption.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

The Gauligas have their tribal headman, Buddhi-vanta, who, with a few elderly members, manage the



A FEMALE GROUP OF KACHA GAULIGAS.

social welfare of the community. In the event of any disputes between two members of the tribe, they are settled by the headman and a few elderly members. The delinquents are invariably fined.

The Kacha Gauligas worship Siva and other Hindu deities. Their minor gods are Khāndōba and Bhairōba, to whom they make periodical offerings. The small-pox demon is held in great veneration. Sometimes they set up a stone on the pasture ground in the name of one of their minor gods, and rub it with sandal paste; yet these gods have their special places of residence. The spirits of their ancestors are also adored by them, and they are represented by images. They believe in sorcery and witchcraft. RELIGION.

The Gauliga dead are either buried or burned. The dead bodies are carried on a bamboo bier with the beat of drum and music. In the case of cremation, the ashes are removed either on the third or the twelfth day, and thrown into a river or stream. The bones are gathered and buried. In the case of interment, the dead are buried on their backs with their heads towards the south. Some among them build a comb in honour of the dead. A goat is killed and a dinner is given to the tribesmen. It is generally the son that performs ceremonies for his propitiation on the thirteenth and fourteenth days. He also performs *srāddha* every year on the anniversary of his father's death. FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The Gauligas in Mysore breed buffaloes and cows which are the largest cattle. They allow the calf to drink the greater part of the milk. The rest they make into clarified butter, and store it in the holes of the earth which are opened only when butter-dealers come to buy. Their male buffaloes are very OCCUPATION.

strong and in great demand by the people of the coast for ploughing and drawing loads. In fair season, they remain near villages supplying cultivators with manure for which they are paid in grain. The men graze the cattle, and the women busy themselves in their domestic work especially cooking. Children help their parents when they are about seven or eight years. The castemen in the Bombay Presidency are shepherds. They have great reputation as weather prophets, and can foretell rain and other changes of weather by the observation of planets. They were once remarkable for their martial qualities. A large number of Sivaji's trusted soldiers were the men of this community. Many of them were Mahratta leaders, among whom the Holkars were the most distinguished. The implements characteristic of these people are their churning handle and the spinning wheel.*

**SOCIAL
STATUS.**

The members of the community in the Bombay Presidency rank below the Kunbis. In Mysore, they form a small community and take the food of the Brāhmins and other higher castes, but avoid the food of the Mādigas and other low castes.

**DIETARY OF
THE TRIBE.**

The common food of the Gauligas is rice and ragi, but they also eat flesh. Their holiday dishes are rice, bread, meat, curry, and sweet gruel.

**APPEARANCE,
DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS.**

They are found in all shades of colour. Most of those who came under my observation were dark coloured. The men wear the loin or the waist cloth, a blanket on their shoulders, and a headscarf or *rumal*. The women tuck up their *saris*, exposing their legs and major portion of their thighs. This

* Enthaven R. E: *The Bombay Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, page 321.

is done by passing one end of the *sari* between the legs and tucking it on the back. This gives facilities for work and movement. This habit of dress accounts for the name of Kacha Gauligas.

The Kacha Gauligas of Mysore are the Dhangars of the Bombay Presidency, the Deccan and other territories, where they are the caste of shepherds, weaving rough blankets. They appear to be somewhat aboriginal. The caste appears to be very widespread, and totemistic. There are many endogamous groups and exogamic clans. Their habitations are in the forests or in places where their buffaloes can find abundance of grass for grazing. They very badly resent interfering with them. It appears that the Government began to levy a tax of four annas as the cost of grazing each buffalo in the forest, and they were so provoked as to say that they would go back to the land of their birth.

CONCLUSION.

GAULIGA.

INTRODUC-
TION.

GAULIGAS closely allied to the Kacha Gauligas are another tribe who rear large number of buffaloes.

They appear to be somewhat more civilized, and live in thatched houses with their buffalo sheds in front of them. The community that came under my observation live in a village close to the public road, at a distance of four miles from the town of Shimoga. On enquiry, I was told that their forefathers were immigrants from Goa. They have similar settlements in other parts of the Shimoga District. Both men and women are somewhat wheat coloured and strong. Their home speech is Mahratti, but with others they talk rough Canarese. The men shave their head and face except the top-knot and moustache. They wear the waist cloth, a short cloth, a head scarf, and a silver girdle, carrying on their shoulders a wallet for money, tobacco, betel leaves, areca nuts and lime. The women wear like the other caste women of Mysore, but keep their hair carefully oiled and tended.

The Gauligas live near towns, keeping buffaloes, tilling small patches of land, and selling the produce of their dairies. They are very hard working. In the early morning, both men and women are busy milking their buffaloes. After clearing their buffalo shed, they take their breakfast about nine in the morning, and are busy in their dairy from eleven to four. Children of seven or eight help their parents, herding cattle. They are a religiously minded people employing Brahmans to perform ceremonies, worshipping their village gods and keeping all local holidays. They believe in magic, sorcery and witchcraft, and



KACHA GAULIGAS WITH BASKETS CONTAINING POTS OF THEIR DAIRY PRODUCE FOR SALE.

in the power of evil spirits. Their girls are married after they come of age. The dead are buried and the period of mourning is for ten days. Widow marriage and polygamy are allowed, but polyandry is unknown. They have their hereditary headman called Buddhivanta who settles all disputes with the help of a council of castemen. They seem to be better than the Kacha Gauligas and well-to-do.

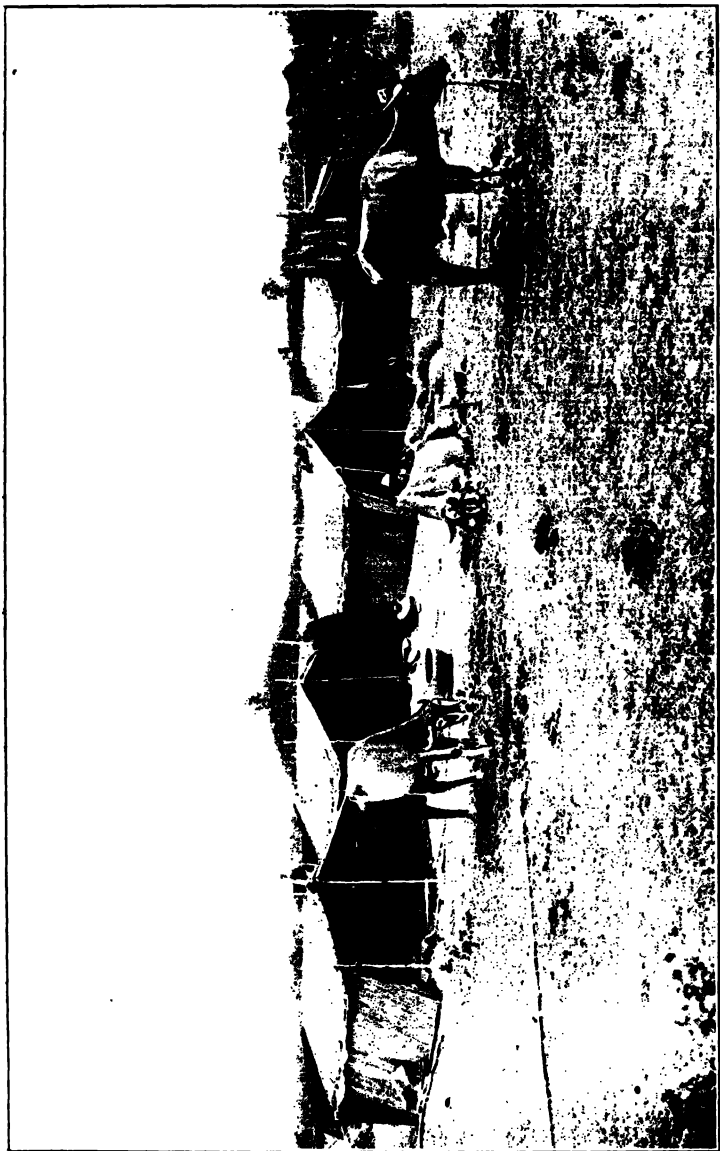
KILLĒKYATA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—
PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND
DIVORCE—BASAVIS—BIRTH CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND
ADOPTION—TRIBAL CONSTITUTION—RELIGION—DEATH CERE-
MONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUC- TION.

THE Killēkyatas are a wandering tribe of picture showmen found scattered all over the State.

They are also known locally as Shillekyatas, *Bombe Ātadavaru*. Another section of them who fish in rivers are known as *Burude Bestas*, i.e., Bestas or fishermen using dry gourds when swimming in water for fishing. Killēkyata means a mischievous imp, *kille* meaning mischievous, and *kyāta*, imp, or a crooked fellow. Whenever they give their shows after the usual offering of prayers to Ganapati and Sarasvati, they exhibit a doll of fantastic appearance, jet black in colour, with tilted nose, dishevelled hair, flowing beard, protruding lips, pot-belly and crooked hands and legs. This figure, which is known as the Killekyata, is accompanied by its wife Bangarakka, equally hideous in appearance. Both these figures represent the buffoons of the performance, and keep the audience amused with rude jests and indecent jokes. The whole exhibition has come to be known as the play of Killekyāta, and the name has thence passed to the caste itself. With reference to this profession, they are also known as marionette dancers, *Bomalātavallu* in Telugu, and *Togalubombeyavāru* in Kannada. Another section have altogether given



KILLIKIVATA HABITATION.

up this trade, and taken to fishing, and they are on that account styled Burude Bestas. They style themselves Dātyēru, but the origin of this term cannot be traced. In the adjoining districts of the Bombay Presidency, they are known by the name of Katbus. They have no titles, though the usual honorific suffixes, Appa, Ayya and Anna for males, and Amma and Akka for females, are used ; but generally they are addressed without these suffixes by persons of higher castes.

Killekyatas always speak Mahratti among themselves, but they know the language of the locality where they live. One section of the caste, namely, *Dodda Togalu Bombeyātadavaru*, know how to read and write Telugu, and enact their plays in that language, repeating verses from the *Mahabhārata* or *Ramayana*.

Killekyatas are immigrants into the State from the Mahratta country, to which they are believed to have come from the north, either from Kolhapur or Satara.* The following is recorded in the *Bijapur Gazetteer* † about them :—"They appear to have long belonged to the district, as they have no tradition of having moved from any other country. The oldest paper that has been found in their possession, is a deed or *sannad* dated the month of *Kartik*, or October-November of 930 *Fasli*, that is, A.D. 1520, in the reign of the second King of Bijapur. They claim descent from a Kshatriya, who is said to have followed the Pāṇḍavās in their wanderings after the loss of their kingdom."

They were originally Mahratta Okkaligas following then the profession of agriculture. It is said that one of their women became intimate with a man of the

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE
CASTE.

* *Belgaum Gazetteer*, page 185.

† Pages 196-97.

Goldsmith caste named Kattāre Kalāchāri and had seven sons by him. They were, of course, put out of caste, and the smith taught his sons to make dolls out of mats, leaves and pieces of leather, and earn their living by exhibiting marionettes before village audiences. The brothers of the woman, who were poor, were induced to join their nephews subsequently, and they formed a separate caste by themselves, reinforced by other accessions. It was after this, that they migrated from the Mahratta country into different parts of Southern India. They must have come into Mysore in different gangs, as indicated by the number of their exogamous clans. Thus, while the earliest immigrants have only five divisions, the more recent ones have nine or eleven, and those that are living on the borders of the Dharwar district have as many as thirteen. In memory of this connection, these showmen extol the caste of the goldsmiths, soon after their invocations to the gods at the commencement of their play, and say in explanation that the credit of the performance would be theirs (the goldsmiths'), while only the doles collected, would belong to themselves.* The patron castes are exempted from subscribing towards the expenses of such plays, but give some presents to the players, who go to their houses the day after the performance. Killekyatas have occasionally been given *ināms* for their profession, of which some exist in this State, though the condition of service has been removed.†

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

Endogamous groups.—The two main divisions are doll exhibiting Killekyatas and fishing Killekyātas. The former are distinguished either as major or

* “ಬಿರಾದುವಾಳಾದಿ ಬಿಕ್ಕಮು ಮಾದಿ” — “Bīraduvāḷādi Bikkamumādi”
 (“The Tile is theirs, while the doles are ours.”)

† *Mysore Revenue Manual*, page 248.

minor showmen, and these two sections are at present showing a tendency to become separated, not only in the matter of marriages but also in that of food.

Exogamous Clans.—The Killekyatas seem to have migrated into the State in different batches. The Bombē section came first, the minor (or *Chikka*) Bombē showmen being the earliest, as is indicated by the conversion of their old exogamous names into the local equivalents, as Aivat into Enumala, Sindhya into Gujjala. It is said that there are thirteen exogamous clans of this caste in Bijapur district, brought about by one Hanumantarao Narasing of Haveli in Poona, who styled himself *Sar Gaṇāchari* of the caste.*

The Bombē section have the following exogamous clans, each carrying certain definite tribal functions:—Gaṇāchari or Vanārasi, Sivāchari or Avēt, Nēkhnar (corrupted into Lōkhandar), Panchāngis, or Ataka, or Bhandāri and Sindhya.

The fishing section have, in addition to these five divisions, returned four more, viz., Sālavya, Sāsanik, Moharga and Sinagāna in the taluk of Shikarpur, and an additional one, namely, Dhuravya in Chan-nagiri. Those found near Harihar have all the thirteen divisions, three names besides those given above being Vākudas, Dōdkars and Dhāmalkārs.

It will thus be seen that the caste found in the Mysore State is the same as that of the Bombay Presidency, with this difference, that the Bombe *Adiso* section appear to have separated themselves when the caste contained only five divisions, while the other divisions appear to have lost touch with the main group at different periods in recent times.

* *Bijapur Gazetteer*, page 197.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS.

Marriage among the members of the same division is prohibited, and relationship is traced through males. The members of the same division are regarded as brothers and sisters.

Infant marriages are very rare; and a woman may, if she chooses, live without marrying at all; polygamy is common, but polyandry is unknown.

The three main divisions are strictly endogamous, though it is said that the fishing section give, but do not take girls from the other sections. The Chikka Bombē and Dodda Bombē sections were apparently one formerly, as may be inferred from their custom of inviting each other for any important caste *panchayet*, but intermarriages between them are almost unheard of. Marriages between members belonging to the same exogamous clan are strictly prohibited, and any illegal intimacy between a man and a woman belonging to such a division, is punished by putting the guilty persons out of the pale of caste without a chance of expiation. Such persons are not allowed to live in the caste quarters, and are prevented from taking fire and water from the other members of the caste.

The negotiations for marriage must always begin from the male's side, unless the boy is a very near relative, such as a cousin. The boy's father goes to the girl's house, and settles the marriage with her father at a *vilya sāstra* (betel leaves ceremony). On this occasion, the boy's father has to give two rupees to the caste *panchayet*, and five quarter-anna pieces to the girl's mother. The girl dressed in the *sari* presented to her, is seated on a *kambli* in the presence of the caste *panchayet* and is made to put on glass bangles given to her in the name of the boy. If, after this, the contract is broken by either party, then the party in default has to pay a fine to the

yajamān, besides the expenses incurred by the other party.

Being a wandering community, Killekyatas do not observe any elaborate ceremonies for marriage. One of the Gaṇāchari section conducts the ceremony, and a Brāhman's presence is not required. Usually all persons of the caste living or wandering within a definite area meet together on such occasions, and perform a number of marriages together. But the tendency to copy the manners of the higher castes is asserting itself, and marriage ceremonies lasting for four days instead of a single day, are becoming more common, and are separately celebrated for each couple.

The marriage ceremonies commence with the worship of an ant-hill. A party from the girl's house go, after bathing, to the ant-hill, and after performing *pūja*, pour some milk into the snake-hole, touch it with a *tāli* with a serpent engraved on it, which they afterwards tie round the girl's neck. This is known as *huttada tāli*. The marriage pandal is raised on four pillars, of which one known as *muhūrtakamba*, or marriage-post, is brought in by the girl's maternal uncle, and set up by married women, who tie round it a package containing five kinds of grains and a *kankana*. The *ariveni*, or sacred pots, are placed within it, and some *tālis*, with human figures engraved on them as representing ancestors, and a *kalasa*, are also placed near and worshipped. A pot filled with toddy is kept there, and offerings are made of cooked food, and a sheep or goat is killed. A married woman is then specially selected to serve during the whole ceremony as bridesmaid (known in their language as *varme*). She has to attend on the bridal pair, and, whenever necessary, smear their bodies with turmeric paste, carry *kalasa*, wave *ārati*, and render similar services.

In some places, a man also is likewise selected to attend on the bridegroom.*

On the next day, each party is made to bathe in *male niru* separately. The bridegroom is taken to a temple or some other place, and conducted thence in state to the marriage *pandal*, at the entrance of which an *ārati* is waved before him. After this, the caste functionaries have each certain definite parts assigned to them in the ceremony. Thus, the Sindhya spreads blankets on the bridal seats. The bride and bridegroom, being led on to the marriage dais, stand facing each other, with a curtain between them, held by the Śivāchāri. The Sālva, or in his absence the Sindhya, recites the names of the gods and the ancestors of the bridal pair, and thereupon the curtain is removed. The bride and bridegroom place on each others' head *jirige* (cummin seed) and jaggery. The Nēkhnar ties the hems of their clothes in a knot. The Gaṇāchari, who is in fact the chief functionary, or the *purohit*, hands over the *tālī* or the marriage disc to the bridegroom, who ties it to the neck of the bride. Then *kankanas* are tied to the bridal pair. The Panchāngi distributes grains of rice to the assembled guests, and the Gaṇāchari, Sivachāri and other functionaries and the rest in order place them on the heads of the couple. The couple sit in front of a large vessel, and milk is poured on their joined hands by the relatives and others. This ceremony, known as milk-pouring, completes the gift of the girl. After being shown the star Arundhati, the two go round the milk-post, and bow before the *ariveni* pots. Buvva or the eating together of food by the bride and the bridegroom and their nearest relations, takes place as a practical manifestation of the union of the two families.

* In some places (Chitaldrug), five women are so set apart.

Simhāsana-puja takes place the next day, when the Ganāchari worships a heap of betel leaves and nuts, and distributes them to all, in a prescribed order of precedence, the number of *tambulas* they are entitled to is by the recognised custom of the caste.

The next day is devoted to *nāgavali*, and worship of the ant-hill and the *pandal* posts. The *kankanas* are removed after the pot-searching ceremony, and a caste dinner is then given.

In the evening, the girl is concealed somewhere and the bridegroom with a *bhāshinga* tied to his forehead is made to search for her. On being discovered, she makes a pretence of refusing to go with him, and is coaxed to yield. Then all proceed in state to a temple, and worship the god. On their return, the bride and the bridegroom are raised on the shoulders of two able-bodied men, and a dance takes place in the street. Towards the close of this dance, the husband carries away the newly married wife to his house, but just as he reaches the threshold, he is waylaid and obstructed by the wife's party, who release him on his promise to let them have the first-born daughter. This entry of the wife to her husband's house finishes the marriage ceremonies. The bride-price varies from ten to seventy rupees. The whole expense of the marriage, which again varies from fifty to two-hundred rupees, has to be borne by the father of the bridegroom, who has to spend a great deal on toddy, so that a marriage looks often like a drunken brawl.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for five days, during which period she remains in a separate shed of green leaves. She is given a bath every day, and her clothes are removed as the degree of impurity lessens day by day. In some places, even the sheds are renewed each day. On

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

the last day, some little girls are given a dinner; and for two or three days afterwards, *Osage* is performed, at which the girl is exhibited before an assembly of married women. If she is already married, her husband pays the expenses of one of these shows: if not, her maternal uncle. No particular ceremony is observed at the time of consummation. The husband presents her with a new cloth, fruits and flowers, and they begin to live together thereafter.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Not only is widow marriage allowed and freely practised, but it is said to be compulsory in the case of childless widows. Such a woman is sent away to her parent's house after her husband's death, so as to be free to choose any one she likes. The offer of marriage to a widow has to be made to her father, who, through the caste people, obtains the formal consent of the widow's previous husband's relations.

The property and the children of her previous husband are returned to his family. On the evening of the day fixed, the intended husband, with the headman and others of the caste, goes to the house of the widow's father, and gives to the woman presents of clothes, bangles and other things, which she puts on. The couple stand in the assembly on a black blanket. The *Sivāchāri* (*Avēt*) applies *vibhūti* (sacred ashes) to their forehead and the husband (or a widow in some places) ties a string of black glass beads or (in some places a *tālī*) to the girl's neck, and the *Sivāchāri* loudly proclaims that the pair have become husband and wife. *Pan-supari* is distributed, and a hookah passed round the assembly, beginning with the headman. This is followed by a dinner and a liberal use of toddy. Married women do not take part in the ceremony, but may join the dinner. A bachelor may not marry a widow, but

where there has been previous intimacy, he is married first to an Ekka plant and then to her. The bride-price of a widow is half that of a virgin, and varies from six to forty rupees. A widow may not marry her previous husband's brother.

Divorce is very easy and pretty common. If the husband and wife cannot get on together, either party may put an end to the connection by leaving the other. The separation is signalled by the husband's taking away the *tāli* and bangles given by him, and tearing off the loose end of the wife's garment. The divorced woman may marry again after payment of a small fine to the caste. They are said to be rather loose in sexual relations; and adultery, especially with a person of the same or a higher caste, is easily condoned.

ADULTERY
AND
DIVORCE.

The fishing section do not dedicate girls as Basavis. But the minor Bombē section set apart a girl in each family as a public woman. The dedication always takes place before puberty and the ceremony is short and simple. On an auspicious day, the girl, after bathing, is dressed in fresh clothes and seated on a plank, and a dark *Baku* is placed by her. A Dāsaiyya brands her with the seal of *shanka* and *chakra* on the back just below the right shoulder, and places in her garment lucky things such as rice, cocoanut, and jaggery. After puberty, she may bestow her favours on any one she chooses. She remains in the father's house, and sometimes sets up for herself a separate shed to receive her lovers.

BASAVIS.

It is not customary, as in other castes, to take the new wife to her parents' house for her first confinement. In fact, she goes but rarely to her parents after her marriage.

BIRTH
CEREMONIES.

On the birth of a child, the woman is considered unclean for seven days, when she remains in a separate shed erected for her. On the fifth day, she is made to set up a stone in the confinement shed and worships it under the name of Satvi or Kontemma, with the object of ensuring a long life to the newborn baby. The midwife is fed and presented with a cloth. On the seventh day, the mother and the child are washed, and the mother gets a change of clothes. After this cleansing, the shed in which she was confined is pulled down, and another put up for her occupation. A general dinner is given in the afternoon, and in the evening, the child is put in a cradle by an elderly woman, who also gives a name to it after consulting with a soothsayer. There are no names peculiar to this caste, though 'Hanumanta' seems to be a very popular name. They are fond of giving nicknames expressive of some peculiar characteristic of the person, as for example *Donha*, a crooked fellow, and *Monda*, a stubborn fellow. The giving of opprobrious names is also very common, the object aimed at being to deceive the malignant powers.

The first growth of hair of the child is removed either in the first or in the third year. The child, after a bath, is taken to a temple and seated in front. His maternal uncle places a handful of dates on his head, which when scattered on the floor are picked up by children. The uncle goes through the form of cutting the hair first with a pair of leaf scissors, and then with a pair of iron scissors.* Then the child is again bathed, and taken to the temple to get *tirtha* and *prasāda*. The maternal uncle is given a present of a new turban, and after the usual dinner, all return home.

* *Bijapur Gazetteer*, pages 199-200.

Children are considered specially liable to the attacks of spirits, and to avoid such misfortune, they are made to wear charms. Hanumanta *tāli* (a disc bearing the figure of Hanumanta), at the neck, and white beads around the waist, are the precautions more common of these.

It is stated that the youngest son succeeds to the property of his parents by preference. This is brought about apparently by the fact that the elder ones set up separate huts for themselves soon after marriage, and that the youngest remaining longest with the parents has to support them in their old age.

INHERIT-
ANCE.

Adoption is unknown among the fishing and the Chikka Bombē sections. They have generally little property to leave behind them. It is sometimes, though rarely, practised by the Dodda Bombē section when a man is childless. They may take any boy they please, and of any age. It is not uncommon for a man to take a foundling, or a boy from even other castes, and bring him up as his own son. No particular ceremony is required.

ADOPTION.

They have a strong tribal constitution, and in some matters, such as marriage, excommunication and admission of strangers into the caste, the concurrence of the caste tribunal is indispensable. The head of the caste is styled Gaṇāchari, and there is also a chief over all the Gaṇācharies known as Sar Gaṇāchari. The Gaṇāchari presides over all meetings, directs marriages and other ceremonials, and performs the purifying ceremony. He acts also as the *purohit* in marriages, and throws rice on the married pair. Next to him comes the Sivāchāri, whose duty it is to apply sacred ashes to the head of the person

CASTE ORGA-
NIZATION.

subjected to any *Prayaschitta* (purification). He belongs to the Avēt division. The Neknar, also called Patel, is the head of a *kattemane*, that is, a seat of subordinate jurisdiction. In marriages, he has to untie the knot, tied by the Sivachāri, of the hem of the bridal pair's garments. The *Panchangya*, who is of the Atka division, has to distribute betel leaves and nuts in an assembly, and when the next functionary Sindhya is absent, he has to spread the blanket for the caste people to sit on. Sindhya spreads the blankets on occasions of marriage, and does the office of drummer. Salavya has to bring materials for erecting the marriage-booth. Sasānika puts *sāse** to the bridal pair, and Sinagāna, who is called the Kōlkar of the caste, carries a baton in his hand, collects people of the caste, and seats them in the prescribed order. He has also to attend on the caste *panchayat* and execute the orders of the Gaṇāchari, Sivāchāri and Neknar. Dhuravya is another officer who buys provisions for a marriage. Each of these offices is hereditary, and belongs to a family in a particular exogamous division. The quantity of *pan-supari*, and the fee to be given to each of them on ceremonial occasions, are fixed definitely, as shown in the following table. The

			Betel leaves	Nuts	Money
Ganaohari	..	..	5	5	5 quarter annas.
Sivachari	..	..	4	4	4 do
Neknar	..	..	4	4	4 do
Pachangi	..	..	4	4	4 do
Sindhya	..	..	2	2	2 do
Salvyā	..	..	2	2	2 do
Sasnik	..	..	2	2	2 do
Sinagana	..	..	2	2	2 do
Dhuravya	..	..	1	1	1 do

* i.e., pouring handfuls of rice on their heads.

Bombē section have only five office-bearers stopping with the Sindhya who acts as the Kōlkar or servant of the caste. Whenever there is a caste dispute, all the office-holders of the caste, especially the first five of them, must join. If, however, on account of unavoidable reason, any one does not appear, his function has to be performed by the next lower; a representative of the Sindhya division, however, cannot preside at any caste deliberation. The matters of dispute that come up for settlement are such as adultery, divorce, abusing caste people, and striking some one with a shoe. In such cases, the accused person has to answer the charge against him. When the charge is proved, or admitted, the second official (Sivāchari), who is specially invested with secular authority, settles the amount of fine to be paid by the delinquent. The latter passes round a hookah to all the members of the assembly, each of whom smokes it as a sign that the fault has been expiated. The business is finished with an entertainment of drink and dinner.

There is no doubt that in this caste real ancestor worship is practised. They say that the dead are not to be consigned wholly to the grave. They believe that their deceased ancestors, especially the married ones among them, always remain with them. The names of the departed should be given to children in the family. RELIGION.

On occasions such as Dasara, Ugādi, and Mahālaya Amāvāsya, they wash the images, burn incense near them and offer food and drink. In addition to the images of ancestors, they generally keep idols of Durgamma, Bhairava Dēvaru and Anjanēya, which they worship on all festive occasions. Yalamma is another idol to which they pay special reverence and celebrate *pūja* periodically.

On such occasions, a toddy pot, to the neck of which a saffron-coloured thread is tied, is placed

in the shade of a margosa tree, to represent the goddess, and animals are sacrificed before it. The praises of the goddess are sung, and the festival is celebrated with great *eclat* by the assembled castemen of the neighbourhood. They also offer *pūja* to the god of small-pox, to Gangamma, the Sun, the *asvatha* tree, and generally worship all the Hindu gods. They prefer to employ as *pūjaris* (worshippers) young boys, who are considered to be yet uncontaminated with wordly vices.

The following description given of Killekyatas in the Bombay Presidency is more or less applicable to them in this State:—

“ Their two leading divinities are Mahadev and Durgavva. Mahadev is said to be found only in the houses of the head of the Ganācharis, but many have Durgavva in their sheds and worship her themselves. Those who have no image of Durgavva, on her great day, a Tuesday about Magh fullmoon in January-February, make an image of meal and worship it. They do not keep the sweet-basil plant or worship it. They worship their leather pictures and offer them *polis* or sugar roly-polis on *Ganesh Chaturthi*, the bright fourth of Bhadrpad, or August-September. During the first month after death, on any convenient days, the chief mourner kills a goat in honour of his house-gods, and a brass image representing the dead is added to the gods. They keep all the leading Hindu fasts and feasts, and a few sometimes make pilgrimages to Parasgad in Belgaum and to Pandharpur in Sholapur. Their priests are Ganācharis and the head Ganāchari is their spiritual teacher.

Killēkyatas believe in omens, and consult soothsayers. They believe that they can exorcise evil spirits by making the person possessed lie down near the boxes containing the pictures of their show.*

DEATH CEREMONIES.

Corpses are generally buried. Persons affected with such diseases as leprosy and those of pregnant women are cremated; and bodies of those meeting with unnatural death, such as from wild

* *Bijapur Gazetteer*, page 199.

animals, are sometimes buried under stone heaps. The bodies of married persons are placed in a sitting, and those of others in a lying posture in the graves. When a Killekyata dies, his body is washed and dressed in new clothes, and if it is a married woman, the hair is decked with flowers as for a bridal. Betel leaves and nuts are crushed and kept in the corpse's mouth. The body is placed on a quilt, and carried by four persons taking hold of the four corners, a fifth person holding up the head in position. The chief mourner carries a faggot of fire, and a new earthen pot full of rice. When about half-way to the burial ground, the bearers change sides, and the articles carried by the mourner are thrown away. There, the body is stripped of all clothing, and placed in the grave, with a bit of gold in its mouth. To retain it in a sitting posture, the head is fastened by a string to a peg driven into the side of the pit. After filling up, a stone slab is placed on the grave, to mark the place of the head, and a *tulasi* or a *tumbe* plant is planted on the spot. The funeral party then bathe, and return home to look at a lamp kept burning at the place of death. Thence they repair to a toddy shop, euphemistically called *Sabhakachēri* (meeting place) in Telugu, to drown their grief.

The family of the deceased do not cook their food on the first day, and some of their relatives send cooked food for them. On the third day, the mourners repair to the burial-ground with all the eatables, cooked and uncooked, which the deceased was fond of when alive, and offer two *yedes*, one at the spot where the corpse had been deposited on the way to the graveyard, and the other at the grave. If crows do not eat the food, they consider that the deceased had some cause for anger against the survivors, and make vows to satisfy his soul. If, however, crows hover over the food but do not

touch it, they imagine that he had some particular longing in his mind and promise to fulfil his wish. Then they bathe and return home and in the evening, take their near relatives to the toddy shop for a drink. On the eleventh day, they observe the *tithi* ceremony. Their castemen and other relatives are sent for. They cleanse the house, and all bathe and put on washed clothes. A pot is set up in the house, and to it offerings of new clothes and food are made. The company then feast and drink in honour of the dead. Another feast is held after three months, and a *tāli* (a metal disk), on which an image of the deceased is engraved, is consecrated with the sacrifice of a goat or sheep, and placed among the household gods.

OCCUPATION.

The characteristic occupations of the caste are marionette shows and fishing. They play various scenes of the *Rāmayana* and *Mahabhārata*, the former being more in demand. The dolls are cut out of goat's skin and painted in gaudy colours. They are made of several pieces cut separately and joined together with wires, and various motions and postures are caused by dexterous manipulation behind the curtain with the aid of thin bamboo splits. The actions of the figures are made to correspond to the story as recited by the showman in prose and doggerel. For the minor class of showmen, the stage is made of screens of *kamblis* and white cloths borrowed of a washerman. The showman alone sits inside, and uses both hands for moving the dolls. A woman sitting outside produces low shrill music with a reed sounded on the back of a flat dish of bell-metal. The words of the play are crudely conceived, and are often fit only for a low class audience. The stage of the *Dōdda Bombe A'tadavaru*, on the other hand, is built on a raised platform,



A GROUP OF KILLIKIVATA MALES WITH THEIR FISHING NETS, AND THE APPARATUS
FOR SWIMMING.

and decorated with plantain and mango leaves. It is spacious enough to accommodate within its curtains the whole troupe, furnished with fiddle, drum, cymbals, etc. The text is taken from recognised books on the epics, and the players, including women, are all literate. The women do the singing, while the men show the pictures over the curtain. The play begins at about 10 P.M. and continues the whole night. The performance is enlivened by the appearance, on the scene at intervals, of the buffoons, a Killekyata and his wife in fantastic garb, whose part sometimes borders on indecency. When the performance is over, the whole party go to every house in the village and get presents in kind, in addition to the lump sum collected by the whole village. Besides, during the enactment of the play, they demand and obtain presents of cloths and other articles from the spectators. It is considered auspicious for rains and crops to have these shows about the harvest time, and in certain places, Killekyatas are entitled to customary annual fees for their services. Agriculturists draw with charcoal powder rude figures of a man on each of the corners of a field when there is a crop on it. The various agricultural implements are said to be the limbs of this demon who is known as Karēbhanta, or Killekyata. His brother, known by the name of Jōkumara, is invoked, and he goes to bring about rains in seasons of drought. He comes into being four days after the death of Vināyaka, i.e., after Vināyaka's idol is removed after *pūja* on the 4th day of the first fortnight of Bhādrapāda every year. Lime-burners make a rude earthen image of him. A boy takes this on his head, and goes to all the houses in a village, singing songs and calling upon the god of rain to send rain to the earth. He gets doles of grain, and a feast is held on the full-moon day.

Next day, Jōkumara is said to die of cooking, with a bone stuck in his throat. After death, he goes to the god of rain, and implores him to send rain to moisten the parched up soil, and to save people from dying of famine.

The major fishing section have better plays borrowed from standard renderings of the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahabhārata*, and also employ marionettes with separate joints, so that the action of the play may be more effectively exhibited. They have also a better appointed stage, large enough to accommodate all the actors and musicians. The minor showmen composing the other division have a much cruder apparatus, and the singer of the party, generally a woman, has to sit outside the booth, her instrument being a reed fixed on the back of a bell-metal dish with a base of wax, on which she produces a shrill monotonous sound, by the friction of both her hands. This is accompanied by a drum. The plays enacted by these are also of very poor style, very coarse in language and sentiment.

The fishing section who are expert swimmers live by fishing. During high floods, they tie up two gourds together with a stout rope, and ride on the water over incredible distances by sitting astride on the floating rope between the gourds, riding it as if it were a horse. They say they feel more at home in water than on land, where there is fear of stumbling on stones and meeting snakes and evil spirits. These last never approach them on water for fear of being caught in the meshes of their nets.

Boys begin to swim at about ten, learning the art by imitation. Their expertness is such that not one of this caste is believed to have ever been drowned. They profess to take a man through the highest floods without any danger. They let him enter the water up to the neck, and simply lead him by



A GROUP OF KILLINIYATA WOMEN.

the hand, always keeping his head above water. They are not afraid of crocodiles, and it is said that these huge reptiles are scared away when they see their bodies reflected in the water while riding.

The women of the Killēkyata section are expert tattooers, and earn money by this profession.

The Killēkyatas are a wandering tribe, and live outside the villages in sheds constructed of arched bamboos covered with mats. Though they profess to be Kshatriyas, they are looked upon as very low in the social scale. But some of the Bombē section have, on account of their education, earned a respectable position, and are received even by Brāhmans into their houses. The showmen wander in definite areas, and in some places have *inams* given them on account of their proficiency in their art. They admit recruits, especially women from the higher castes, with the sanction of the Gaṇāchari, obtained after payment of a fine. They have no social disabilities in the matter of conveniences in the village. Barbers may shave them, but not pare their nails; but the fishing section have usually their own washerman.

SOCIAL
STATUS.

They eat the flesh of sheep, goats, deer, hares and rabbits, but eschew beef and pork. Both the sexes indulge in liquor. They eat in the houses of Kurubas, Upparas and Bestas. Mādigas and Hole-yās are the only castes that eat in the houses of the Killēkyatas.

FOOD.

The Killekyatas are a caste of picture-showmen, and are scattered all over the State, one group of which are expert swimmers in rivers during flood. Their manners and customs are similar to those of other low castes.

CONCLUSION.

KOMATI.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—
 LANGUAGE—POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION—HABITATIONS—
 INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—
 ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—RELATIONS
 WITH MADIGAS—PRE-NATAL CEREMONIES—POST-NATAL
 CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE
 COUNCIL—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—
 SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNA-
 MENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUC-
TION.

THE Komatis who style themselves Vaiśyas are pre-eminently a trading class. They are most numerous in trading centres, and are comparatively rare in small villages, where there is little scope for their pursuits. About a third of them are in Kolar, and a fifth in each of Bangalore and Mysore Districts, the rest being scattered in the remaining districts.

The name Vaiśya comes from a Sanskrit root which means to enter. This term, as well as its synonym in Sanskrit, namely, *bhūmi-sprisah*, denotes their original profession, agriculture.

Komati is said to be a corrupted form of Gomati, which is alleged to mean a tender of cattle. Mr. Stuart, in the Census Report of Madras for 1891, gives the following derivations of the term :—

- | | |
|--------------|----------------|
| (1) Ko mati | .. Fox-minded. |
| (2) Go mati | .. Cow-minded. |
| (3) Go matti | .. Cow-gored. |

But none of them is accepted by the castemen as the right etymology of the term, which, they assert, means a tender of cattle or cows.* Setti means

* It is difficult to trace the origin of this term, the derivations given being more or less fanciful.

'the noble,' and is the corrupted form of the Sanskrit word *Srēṣṭha*. A Komati is sometimes playfully addressed by men of other castes as '*Bāvagāru*,' which means "Mr. Brother-in-law." The reason is that the caste is extremely clannish, and when the members meet, they are punctilious about recognizing each other as relations; and when no definite relationship can be readily traced, they address the others as brother-in-law, it being considered the most courteous thing to regard oneself as the brother of the other's wife. This being most frequently heard in the intercourse of men of this caste, it has become almost a nickname of the caste itself.

The titles or name-endings usually applied to the caste are *Setti* and *Ayya*; but the orthodox Vaiśya name-ending is said to be *Gupta*, which, however, is all but unknown in this part of India.

The Komatis regard themselves as the representatives of the old Vaiśya division of Hindus. The following story is current about their origin. The old order of Vaiśyas became extinct on account of their misdeeds. But the want of an agricultural and industrial class caused great hardship in the world, and Kubera, the god of wealth, had to complain to the Creator. A Rishi was commissioned to create the Vaiśyas again by a sacrifice. He used a thousand rings of the Kuśa grass for the sacrifice and all of them became men, and were sent out to work in the world for the creation and multiplication of wealth. These are said to be the original heads of the *gōtras* of this caste.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE
CASTE.

They first settled, according to this tradition, in the district of Ayodhya; and it is said that 714 of their families migrated to the south, and settled in Penukonda. The place fell later on under the sway

of one Vishṇuvardhana of Rājamahendrapura. This king fell in love with the beautiful daughter of a Komati called Kusuma Setti, who was named Vasa-vamba. The father and his castemen would not consent to give her in marriage to him, but were afraid of refusing. They pretended to agree, and on the day settled for the wedding, the damsel and her parents, together with a married couple of each of 102 families, entered a funeral pyre and perished altogether. This girl who passed for an incarnation of Pārvati, became the tutelary goddess of the caste, and is worshipped under the name of Kanyaka Paramēsvari. She is believed to have pronounced a curse before her death and to have laid down certain rules of conduct, meant to save the caste from similar calamities in future.*

Personal beauty having proved a dangerous quality, it is held amongst them that no woman of the caste should be born beautiful.† They should never transgress the rule of marriage between a man and his maternal uncle's daughter.‡ A sect of men called Mailaris having helped Komatis at this trying time by giving them intelligence of what was transpiring in Vishṇuvardhana's Court, it was ordained that the *pūjaris* at the shrine of Kanyaka Paramēsvari whose worship from that date was ordained for the members of this caste, should always be of the Mailari caste, to whom periodical presents should also be given.

Thus, of the 714 families that had settled in the south, only 102 threw in their lot with the

* *The Baramahal records* 35, 36.

† It is generally recognised that this characteristic has stuck to the caste completely. Perhaps it was invented to account for the observed fact of the scarcity of handsome women in this particular community.

‡ Komati-menarikam—a Komati's maternal relationship has become a proverbial expression, to denote a relation that cannot be ignored or evaded.

Kanyaka ; * the rest remained apart, and they are said to be Nagartas and other kindred castes claiming to be Vaiśyas.

The same story is sometimes given with certain variations. The caste had for its progenitor one Nabhaga, otherwise styled Vaiśyamuni, or Salankayana, who lived in the Magadha country. During the time of Chandragupta, they spread to the south, as far as Ujjaini (Malwa), the capital of Vikramāditya, in whose reign they emigrated into all parts of his kingdom. They settled in Penukonda, during the time of Vemanagupta ; and Vishṇuwardhana, who fell in love with the damsel, was one of his successors. The maid Vāsavāmba believed that she was an incarnation of Pārvati, and was declining to marry any man, asserting that she would marry only Nagarēvara (Śiva). In order to repulse the overtures of the king, her marriage was actually celebrated with god Nagarēvara. This roused the enmity of the king, who began to persecute Kusuma Setti and others of his caste in various ways, and thus brought about the catastrophe of their wholesale immolation. Vāsavāmba was born in Pendli, or Udavāha kula, and even now an extra *tambula* is given to the representatives of that *kula* on marriage and other auspicious occasions.

A *gōtra* or family that has become extinct is said to be that of Ganapa *kula*.

The language of the caste is Telugu. But some, LANGUAGE. owing to their long residence in the Kannada Districts of the State, have almost forgotten their mother tongue, and speak Kannada.

As a commercial caste, the Komatis have a secret language of their own, which is substantially the

* Kanyaka means maiden or virgin. Parameswari means the consort of Paramesvara, or Śiva, and is another name for Pārvati, also known as Gauri.

same all over the country. It will be seen from the table given below, how complete their numerical tables are ranging from one pie to a thousand rupees. It will be observed that the rupee is represented by the word *thēlupu* which means white. Some Tamil castes similarly call the rupee *velle* (white).

Pie Table.

<i>Name</i>		<i>Pies.</i>	<i>Name</i>		<i>Pies.</i>
Nakili batu	..	1	Rāyam batu	..	4
Ke batu	..	2	Rāyam nakili batu	..	5
Kēvu nakili batu	..	3			

Anna Table.

<i>Name</i>		<i>Annas</i>	<i>Name</i>		<i>Annas</i>
Thāpi kamanlu	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	Uddulam analu	..	3
Nakili ana	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	Uddulam nakili analu	..	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Kēv ana	..	1	Kongidu analu	..	4
Kēvan nakili ana	..	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Sulalu analu	..	12
Rāyam analu	..	2			

The word *sūlalu* is connected with *trisūlam*, the trident emblem of Siva, and is sometimes used to denote three annas.

Rupee Table.

<i>Name</i>		<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Name</i>		<i>Rs.</i>
Thapi thēlupu	..	$\frac{1}{4}$	Mūlam Galalu	..	50
Nakili	..	$\frac{1}{4}$	Thipanam Galalu	..	60
Ke	..	1	Maram Galalu	..	70
Rāyam	..	2	Thamum Galalu	..	80
Uddulam thēlupu	..	3	Navaram Galalu	..	90
Uddulam nakili thēlupu	..	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Kē savalu	..	100
Panam thēlupu	..	4	Rayam savalu	..	200
Mulam thēlupu	..	5	Uddulam Savalu	..	300
Thupam	..	6	Panam Savalu	..	400
Māram	..	7	Mūlam savalu	..	500
Thānum	..	8	Thipanam savalu	..	600
Navaram	..	9	Māram savalu	..	700
Galām	..	10	Thāmam savalu	..	800
Rayam Galalu	..	20	Navaram Galalu	..	900
Uddulam Galalu	..	30	Galām Galalu	..	1,000
Panam Galalu	..	40			

Varaham (Pagoda) Table.

Name.			Varaham.	Name.			Varaham.
Kē	Makaram	..	1	Thipanam	Makaram	..	6
Rāyam	do	..	2	Māram	do	..	7
Uddulam	do	..	3	Thāmam	do	..	8
Panam	do	..	4	Navaram	do	..	9
Mūlam	do	..	5	Gālam	do	..	10*

A common saying is that if you begin at *gālam* it will be settled at *mūlam* or in plain language, begin at ten *varahams*, and the bargain will be closed at five. When a man says to another *dotu* or *dotra*, it means strike the bargain. If a Komati is the purchaser and another says to him, *Dōt ko*, it means take it.

At the last Census, the Komatis numbered, 38,713; 19,860 being males, and 18,313 females. They are largely found in the districts of Kolar, Mysore and Bangalore. As merchants, they live mostly in towns and their houses are mostly like those of the higher Hindu castes.

POPULATION
AND DISTRI-
BUTION.

There is nothing peculiar in the construction of their houses, except that in the older type of them the portion facing the street is built as open stalls for trading, and the hinder portion, which is reached through a long narrow passage, is used as the dwelling house. As a consequence, such houses have hardly any windows and are ill-lighted and ill-ventilated.

HABITA-
TIONS.

Endogamous Groups.—There are three main groups among the Kōmatīs, which constitute practically different castes, without either commensality or inter-marriage, namely, Gavara, Tuppada, and Trai-Varnika. The majority of the Komatis in this State belong to the Gavara group, which is so called after Gauri,

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
CASTE.

* Thurston: Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. III, pp. 308-309.

consort of Siva, their tribal goddess Kanyaka Paramēsvari being considered an incarnation of this goddess.

Tuppada Komatis (Ghee Komati or Neti Komati in Telugu) are so called because of their quarrelling at the entertainment given to commemorate the event of Kanyaka's entering the funeral pyre, when ghee was not properly served with food. They are supposed to have seceded from the main body on this silly pretext.*

Trai-varnikas.—This division is not found in the State.

Exogamous Clans.—Originally, the Komatis, it is stated, had 102 exogamous divisions, or *gōtras*† and *gōtra*-groups. One of these groups became extinct, the only surviving pair having entered the funeral pyre along with Kanyaka Vāsavāmba. Of such groups, 16 contain 2 *gotras* each, 7 three each, one contains four, and one contains ten, the remaining 77 groups being each represented by one *gōtra*. A Rishi is named as associated with each of these groups, though it is difficult to guess the connection between the particular Rishi's name and that of the *gōtra*. The Komatis, however, account for this confusion of names, by saying that they wished to conceal their identity, in order to escape from the persecution of King Vishṇuvardhana, on account of whose amorous overtures their Kanyaka had to burn herself on the funeral pyre.

It must, however, be remarked that the names of these *gōtras* represent trees, plants or grain, as in appellations having a totemistic origin, and that the men of these groups abstain, or at any rate used to

* These are said to be found in the Shimoga District, but no account has yet been obtained about them.

† A list of the various *gotra* groups, with names of Rishis and of articles to be eschewed from use, is given as an appendix.

abstain, generally from eating or otherwise utilizing the article denoted by the name of the *gōtra*. Though the same Rishi is named sponsor for two or three *gōtras*, intermarriages between such gotras are not prohibited, as they would be among Brāhmans.* It is, on the whole, likely that these groups were divided on a principle different from that governing the division of Brāhman *gōtras*; and that the Rishi names came to be associated with them, either to enhance their prestige, or from a simple adoption of the names of Rishis of the Brāhman priest of the family. In many families, however, they do not observe any rule of 'tabooing' particular articles. Sometimes when the original prohibition is forgotten, they regard the pandanus flower as the article which is to be abstained from use.

Exchange of daughters in marriage between two families is strictly prohibited.

MARRIAGE.
CUSTOMS.

The girls are married before puberty. Polygamy is allowed, though rarely practised. As in the other respectable classes of Hindus, a second wife is hardly ever taken, unless there are strong reasons, such as absence of children, or incurable disease in the woman. Being generally in better circumstances, a Komati resorts to a supplementary wife perhaps oftener than others.

Besides the well recognized rules of prohibited degrees for marriage, Komatis have one or two peculiar restrictions. The *gotras* of the maternal uncles of the bride and bridegroom should not be the same. There should be no "turning back of the creeper," as they say; that is, when a girl has married into a family, the latter may never again give a girl in marriage to that girl's family. Even in some other castes (such as Brāhmans), there is a feeling against

* The castemen say that prohibition exists.

such marriages, but Komatis observe the rule very strictly. Another most important rule is that a boy is obliged to marry his maternal uncle's daughter, however unattractive she may be, and conversely, the maternal uncle must give his daughter to his nephew (sister's son), however poor. A man may marry, and even preferentially does marry, a girl of the sect to which his mother or paternal grandmother belongs, but not of the section of his maternal grandmother. In addition to these rules, there is another which prohibits marriage relations between two families belonging to two *gōtras* of the same group as shown elsewhere.

Girls must be married before they reach the age of puberty, and the rule is as strictly observed as among Brāhmins. The Komatis have generally out-heroded herod in this respect, and the practice of marrying babies was practised among them more frequently than in other castes, before the Infant Marriage Regulation fixed the minimum limit at eight years of age. The chief motive leading to this sin is the desire to see children married before some fond elderly member leaves the world.

If a girl reaches womanhood before marriage, she will be put out of caste, and the parents partake of the social odium, and have to undergo *prāyaschitta*.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

In the matter of marriage ceremonies, they have a few special characteristics, but closely follow the practices of the Brāhman caste, though the Vedic ritual is not employed. The horoscopes of the boy and the girl are compared by the priest, and have to agree according to certain rules of astrology. The *gōtras* should tally as already described. This proceeding is known as *ghatīhārtham*.

In true commercial spirit, they haggle about the amount to be paid to the male candidate as



BRIDEGROOM'S KASIYATRA.



BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM.



KAMAKA PARAMESWAZI KALASA
WORSHIP DURING MARRIAGE.



A KOMATI MARRIAGE GROUP.

Varadakshina (or present to bridegroom), known by the term *paṇa*, or price. In a few cases, such as that of an old man wishing to marry, they exact a price, as in other castes, for the girl, but the converse is more common, and more systematically agreed to beforehand among Komatis. The price depends upon the social position of both the parties, and not infrequently on the quantity of jewellery which the bridegroom's party are willing to present to the bride. At a formal meeting of their castemen and Brāhmins, the couple to be married are seated together, and āraṭi is waved round them. The engagement is announced, and written *lagnapatrika*, or marriage letters, are exchanged between the parents. This is followed by *dakshina* and *tāmbula* to Brāhmins and others, as also a small dinner to a few castemen.

Before the marriage ceremonies begin, *Huvilya*, that is, the worship of the deceased married women of the family, takes place. Five or more married women are invited, anointed and bathed. A *kalāṣa* is set up in the central part of the house, and worshipped. The married women are presented with bodice clothes and other articles and are invited to dinner.

The real marriage ceremonies begin with the construction of the *chappara*, or the marriage pandal. This structure is supported on sixteen pillars, arranged in four rows, the central four being set up on the marriage dais. One of these latter is of the *Kallī* (*Euphorbia Tirukallī*) tree, and is called the 'milk post.' *Pūja* is made to the hole dug to receive this post, and silver, gold, pearl, coral and ruby (said to be fine ratnas or gems) are placed at the bottom and a little milk and ghee poured into it. Washed clothes, striped with turmeric are wrapped round it, and a package containing nine kinds of grain is also

tied to it. Five married ladies, singing marriage songs, set up the post. A feast, called *Devataprasta* or God's feast, is prepared, and all the castemen are invited to dinner.

The marriage always takes place in the bride's house. The bridegroom's party arrive there on the evening of the day on which the God's feast has been given, and are lodged in a house prepared for them by the bride's father, who has to be their host. They go to a temple near by, with the married women of the party carrying a *kalāśa*; there the bride's parents and their friends meet, and welcome them formally. They are given a sweet drink of jaggery water, to refresh them after the journey, after which the *Varapuja*, or formal reception of the bridegroom, is performed by the bride's father and mother.

The bridegroom is then taken with music and other honours, to the bride's house. There the *nischithārtha*, or confirmation of the agreement, takes place. The bridegroom's party have to carry with them betel-leaves and nuts, five jaggery cubes, five cocoanuts, some turmeric roots, *kunkuma*,* wedding garments and two *ravikas*. The bride accompanied by a companion or bride's maid, comes out and sits with the bridegroom on a plank.† The *purohit* performs *Punyahavāchana*, or purificatory ceremony.

* Married women, according to old orthodox notions, have to paint their cheeks and limbs yellow, by rubbing with turmeric powder, and washing. A spot of red saffron powder called *kunkuma* on the forehead, and glass bangles on their wrists, and sometimes gold or jewelled screws in holes on their left nostril and both ears, are other signs of a woman having her husband alive. She is known as a *Sumangali* in Sanskrit, and *Muttide* in Kannada. The articles belonging to the toilet of such a woman are considered auspicious, and are often requisitioned as presents during marriages.

† Indians are all accustomed to squat on the floor; and planks about three feet by two feet or of less size, are provided as seats, to be used when they sit for ceremonial occasions or for dinners. Such planks are sometimes covered over with a shawl or carpet. "To sit on a plank" is the expression used to denote a sitting in state on the marriage dais, or in exhibition on similar ceremonial and auspicious occasions.

The goddess Mahālakshmi is then adored, in a manner peculiar to this caste.

Some coins amounting to four rupees twelve annas (called *Mudumallaruka*), and a pie piece (called *Basavanna's* pie), a lump of *vibhuti* (ball of ashes) and a pair of nut-crackers, are placed on a rubbing stone. A new cloth is also placed near, and *puja* is offered to it, all in the name of Mahalakshmi. When this is over, the parents of the bride and the bridegroom stand up, and with folded hands ask for the permission of the *Sabha* to contract the intended alliance. This being granted, they proceed to draw up the *Vartanakupatti* or list of customary payments, comprising several items. They are punctilious in this matter, and no customary item is omitted, nor any fresh item admitted. Lists of these payments are carefully preserved for use on such occasions.

The two parties exchange *tambula* in ratification of the contract, and other *tambulas* are given to some persons as witnesses. Some married ladies then present the bride with the wedding garments brought by the bridegroom, which she wears. One of the bodice cloths is presented to the bride's maid, the remaining one being the bride's. Both these are afterwards presented by some elderly ladies, with cocoanuts, fruits, etc., placed in the folds of their garments.

The next ceremony is known as the pounding of turmeric, and the grinding of wheat, and the mothers of the parties for marriage are the chief actors. The ordinary household mortar and grinding mill are employed. They place turmeric roots, *kunkuma*, and coloured rice, in two new wicker baskets, and make a show of pounding them with a wooden pestle. All this is apparently to symbolise the importance of these household operations in the married life of the couple.

The next day is the chief one, and is crowded with ceremonial functions. Early in the morning, the bride and the bridegroom have what is called *malenīru* in their own places. Four brass vessels, filled with red water (made by dissolving turmeric and lime), are placed at the corners of a square, and cotton thread is passed round their necks three or five times. The bride and her mother or the bridegroom and his mother stand together, and the water of the vessels is poured on their backs by some married women, while the *purohit* recites verses, and women sing songs. The two stand one behind the other alternately, and bend down. On this occasion, near relatives of the mother present her each with a dress cloth and a bodice cloth, it being almost compulsory that her parents or brothers should make this present.* The parties are then bathed, and each party attends to its own *nāndi*, or invocation of the gods and ancestors for the successful carrying out of the ceremony.

The ceremonies up to *Upanayana*, (i.e., *Jatakarma* birth and other ceremonies) are gone through for the bridegroom. He gets out of the Brahmacharya (studentship) by performing *Vrata-samāvartana*. This is followed by *Kāsi-Yātra*. The young man is dressed as if for travel, and carries a small handful of rice and other provisions, tied up in packages, in his upper garment. Thus accoutred, he cuts a queer figure, and sets out with stick and umbrella, on a pretended visit to Benares. The parents of the bride meet him and implore him to forego his trip, promising their daughter in marriage. They wash his feet and take him home, and present him with new clothes. The next item is known as *saram*, or pots-bringing ceremony. Among other (non-Brāhman) castes, this is called bringing of *airane*.

* Some say that the custom is not in force among them.

The bride's mother, accompanied by some married women, goes in procession to a potter's house, walking under a canopy of cloth, held at the four corners, and raised in the middle with a stick. They take with them the various auspicious articles (*mangala-dravya*), such as *turmeric*, *kunkuma*, *appala* (thin black-gram cakes), and *Kajjaya* (sweetened cakes). *Puja* is made to the kiln, and from it ten pots of medium size, twelve pans or plates, four lampstands, three small pots, and two large pots are taken out. The potter washes them, and paints them with *chunam*, drawing a variety of geometrical figures thereon. Yellow thread is tied round the neck of each pot, and some grains, dried dates, some edible tubers, turmeric roots, rolls of palmyra leaves, black glass beads, limes and rice, are all put into them. The *purohit* does *Punyāhavāchana*, or purificatory ceremony. Then the mother of the bride wraps round her, loosely on her dress, a new *panche* (man's cloth), and worships the pots. Thereupon the pots are brought by the married ladies to the bride's house, and placed apart in a room. While this ceremony is proceeding, the bride's mother is presented by the bridegroom's party with a dress cloth and the potter also receives his customary fees. The *panche*, which the mother used, is kept near the sacred pots.

Then some married women and a number of young boys go in procession to an ant-hill, and after washing and making *puja* to it, take out some earth.* The boys† carry this earth on their heads; and it is spread evenly underneath the pots. A washed cloth is placed as a cover over the pots, which thereafter are styled *Kalasa*s.

* This is euphemistically styled "gold from an ant-hill."

† These boys are styled, in Telugu, *śala-nagaralu* (a word of which it is difficult to make out the signification—*Śāla*, young and *nagaralu*, cities or towns.)

Near these pots on a sand-stone, a cone made of turmeric paste is set up to represent Gauri, the consort of Siva. The bride goes there dressed in new clothes with another thrown over her shoulders, and *bhashinga* tied to her forehead, and worships the image. It is only after this *pūja* that she may enter the marriage pandal, which she does, veiled in a loose white cloth or *panche*.*

A goldsmith is called in to prepare the *tāli*, out of gold provided by the bridegroom's father, while the Gauri-*pūja* is going on inside. As it is considered auspicious for the gold to melt easily, and not to break in working, the purest gold is brought for the purpose. The goldsmith gets a customary present for his service.

Pūja is then offered to the 102 *Gōtras* of the caste, each *gōtra* being represented by an areca-nut, which is afterwards kept tied up in a piece of yellow cloth. The Brāhman *purōhit* duly consecrates a sacred thread, and repeating the *mantras*, places it round the neck of the bridegroom with the blessings of the Brāhman assembled. Then the bride's mother comes and gives the bridegroom *madhuparka*, which is composed of a piece of the plantain fruit, dipped in honey or sugar and milk, which he swallows.

Then follows the *kanyadānam*, or the giving away of the maiden. The bride and the bridegroom stand on the marriage dais, facing each other, and with feet each in a new wicker basket, called *mettakigūde* in Kannada. The bride is either carried or led to the place by her maternal uncle. A screen is held between the couple. The *purōhita* on both sides chant the appropriate verses, and at the appointed time, which will be particularly watched by calculation or with the help of a watch, the screen is

* The veil cloth is used for tying up packages of things, such as grain, etc., to present to the girl by placing them in her cloth.

raised, and the bride and the bridegroom each puts a handful of cummin seed and jaggery on the head of the other. The *Kanyadānam* or the giving away of the girl by her parents takes place while the *purōhīt* is chanting *mantras*. After the couple are seated, *kankana*,* or wrist-threads, are tied, the bride tying one to her husband's wrist, and the latter tying one to hers.

The *tāli*, or *māngalya sūtra* is then tied round the neck of the bride by her husband ; and the bride and bridegroom are made to throw handfuls of rice on each other's head. This is called *akshatarōpana*. *Pradhāna hōma*, *lāja hōma* and *aupāsana* are performed. On the night and during the successive days of the marriage (both morning and evening), the *aupāsana* is repeated. *Nalugu*† is also performed both morning and evening.

On the next day in the morning, another non-essential ceremony takes place : that known as *chirakāla-muhurtam*. The couple are seated on plank seats. In front of them, an earthen pot and a brass vessel filled with red coloured water are placed on a cushion of rice spread over a plaintain leaf. Round each vessel a cotton thread is wound, and into them are thrown a silver bangle and a lime fruit, unseen by the conjugal pair, who should dip their hands and pick up what they find. The audience is ready to joke at the party picking up the wrong article, the bridegroom the bangle or the bride the lime. In the latter case, she is said to have scored over her husband.

* A *kankana* is a thread of white and black wool twisted together, with a turmeric root and an iron ring attached to it.

† There is more fun and frolic than any religious or ceremonial significance in this. The bride and bridegroom are seated opposite each other and offer sandal, flowers, etc., to each other, and the assembly (chiefly of ladies) indulge in many a well-worn joke at the coyness of the maid, the forwardness of the boy, etc. Songs and music are also part of the programme.

After this, they are made to worship Arundhati, the wife of the Rishi Vasishta said to be in the constellation known as the "Great Bear."

The street procession takes place by the couple going with music, etc., on foot through the streets. But many now carry them in a palanquin or a carriage; and this innovation has sometimes led to a breach of peace, as some of the other castes hold that Kōmatīs cannot be allowed this privilege.

The chief event of the third day is the worship of the caste goddess Kanyaka-Paramēśvari, a function considered most important, and performed with utmost zeal and devotion. Early in the morning, two elderly women of the family purify themselves, and go to a well or river in procession, with music, under a moving canopy. Two *kalāśas* of silver vessels, decorated with limes and drawings of a human face in *chunam* and with jewels and flowers, are consecrated, as representing the Kanyaka-Paramēśvari. Yellow thread is tied round them; and with the help of a Brāhman priest, the married women make *pūja* to these *kalāśas*, which are then carried on silver or copper salvers to the temple of Kanyaka-Paramēśvari, the party going with all the pomp of music and shaded by a canopy. A Mailari man, decked in fantastic garb, moves in front of this procession, dancing and singing the praises of the Kanyaka. Every Kōmatī whose house is on the way taken by the procession, offers fruit and waves *ārati* to the goddess. After worship in the temple, the *kalāśas* are taken to the marriage house, where they are placed in a central position, and worshipped by the newly married couple, when all the neighbours of the caste also bring fruits and flowers, which are afterwards given to the *purōhit*. They generally carry out this ceremony with as much pomp as possible and often with considerable devotion.

The eatable things offered to the deity (chiefly some cleaned pulse soaked in water, fruit, jaggery water,) are distributed to the castemen assembled; *tāmbūla* is given with *dakshina* to all in the assembly, in addition to the Brāhmans. In the distribution of *prasāda* * to the castemen the order of precedence should be scrupulously observed as follows:—The bride and the bridegroom, representatives of the *gōtra* of Kanyaka-Paramēsvari's birth, a stranger, Ummādi Setti, Yajamān, the rest of the assembly. Then again some special presents of *tāmbūla* and *ravike*† are given to each of the following:—A representative of the Kanyaka's *gōtra*, an unmarried girl, a balanagara boy, a stranger, the Ummādi Setti and the bride. The Mailari gets also some special presents, in addition to the customary cash payment, ranging from rupees two to six. Sometimes he gets the present of a pair of *panches*.‡ Next after dinner, at about 3 P.M., takes place *Gōtrapūja*, otherwise called the worship of 33 crores of gods. The bride and the bridegroom are seated together with an assembly of Brāhmans and castemen, 33 small cones, made of turmeric paste, being arranged on a plank before them, to represent the 33 crores of gods inhabiting the *Svarga lōka*. The bride and her party, and then the bridegroom and his party, separately do *pūja* to these cones; and after that, the bride and bridegroom together with all those of his *gōtra* present, worship these symbols again. This last *pūja* is meant to incorporate the girl in the *gōtra* of her husband.

* *Prasada* means the remains of eatables offered before God in worship, or to some very honoured guest, in the latter case only what has not been placed in his eating dish or leaf, being partaken by the followers.

† *Ravike* means a piece of new cloth about half yard by one and a half yards, which is cut and stitched into a vest for women.

‡ *Panche* is a sheet of white cloth, with or without coloured borders, generally of silk thread, about three yards, which is used by males to wrap round the body loosely. The nether garment is generally somewhat longer and is tied round the loins with apron-like loose folds in front.

After this, a figure of a snake is drawn with a gold ring, on rice spread on a plank, and *Nagendra puja*, or snake worship, takes place. The rice and the ring are tied up in a cloth, and placed near the *Saram*, pots. The assembly thereafter receive the *tambula*, and disperse.

The fourth day has no events till the night, except the daily prayers in the form of *sandhya vandana* and *aupāsana*. After 11 at night, takes place an important ceremony, which is observed secretly, and to which no Brāhmans are invited. This is called by some *Muttaide puja*, i.e., worship of women who died in the lifetime of their husbands by some others, while yet others call it simply *Vaibhava Karma*, or auspicious acts.

The account which the Komatis give of the ceremony is as follows :—

The rice kept on the previous day near the *Saram* pots, with more added, if necessary, is soaked in water and pounded with jaggery, and made into balls by married women in *madi*.* Some of these balls, after a similar worship, are distributed not only among the persons present, but also among absentees, to whom they are subsequently sent, according to a list kept in each family. The secrecy, however, with which this ceremony is conducted, and the scrupulous exclusion of outsiders, has given rise to certain stories which the Komatis indignantly repudiate as calumnies. It is said that the Yajaman, or the head of the house, worships a *Kalasa* naked in a room from which women and others are excluded, and then putting on his clothes, distributes *prasāda* to his castemen, after sending away the Brāhman *purohit*. Some, especially their rivals, the Nagartas,

* *Madi* means clean state : the person bathes, puts on washed clothes not touched by others, and keeps himself without contact with others not similarly pure.

add that they make a figure of a cow, and filling it with red water, cut it up and divide the members among various families. The meaning and intention of this story are plain ; but it is probably not true. No doubt all these stories are attributable to the malice of the excluded orders.

Early the next morning, after bathing, the couple perform *Sēshahoma*, and then untie the *kankana* or wrist threads.

The ceremony called *Vada-bēram* (ship trade) is peculiar to this caste. The bride and the bridegroom dressed in fresh clothes, with *bhashinga* go in procession to the temple. A paper boat is made. The bride's mother puts on an apron of the *panche* kept near the *saram* pots, and makes *pūja* to the toy boat, placing therein some coloured raw rice, and cooked rice coloured red and green, with cakes of sorts. The married pair also do likewise after her. The washerman then sets fire to it, and the Bala-nagara boys carry away the ashes, throw them into a well, or tank, and bring therefrom a quantity of rubbish, such as stone, and pieces of earthen pots, and present it to the bride's mother singing meaningless songs. As if to be recompensed for undergoing this annoyance, the bride's mother is presented with a *stré* and a *ravike*. Then the whole procession returns home, the bride's mother with *kalasa* and the couple walking under a moving canopy.

The couple are now seated together, and two dolls are given to them, and mock birth ceremonies of these dolls are acted.

Then follows the worship of *Ghatti Kadiyam*, or solid bangle. A solid silver bangle, a gold *kankana*, *mudi ungara*, two gold rings and one of silver, one silver toe-ring, and two other silver small toe-rings are kept on a plank before the couple ; and after the usual worship, they are put on by them, the

bridegroom using the *kankana* and the *minchu*, and the rest being given to the bride. The presence of these ornaments on the body of a person betokens the married state.

Then follow a number of ceremonies observed by the Brāhmans also, such as *Hasta Puja*, *Panpu* or swinging on a plank, *puja* of cocoanuts, *tambula* to married couples, etc.

After the bride and the bridegroom have been swung seated together on a plank, the best man, and the bride's maid are seated on it, and are rocked by the Balanagara boys. After this, betel-leaves and areca-nuts (powdered) are given to the real and the *pseudo* bride and bridegroom.

The Balanagara boys indulge in a great deal of frolic and impish mischief on this occasion, and such things have also become part of established ceremony. They rush in a body at night and cry out that the Kanyaka Goddess has prohibited further ceremonies, as the giving of presents to the bride and to the relatives, run away and hide themselves. They have to be searched out and propitiated, and so a party go with music in solemn procession, and coax them back to the marriage hall with sweets and such other presents. Then the urchins remove the prohibition, and the further ceremonies proceed.

For what is known as *Vadibahu*, the bride and the bridegroom are seated on planks. Near the *saram* pots, rice, turmeric-roots, a cocoanut, two dolls, a comb, a *kunkuma* box, an eye-salve box, jaggery, and two *ravikas*, are put into the bride's upper garment, by five married women. These articles are tied up in packages in *panche* and the bride must carry the whole, till she goes to her husband's lodging, whither she is conducted in state.

The next event is the general giving of wedding presents. All the Komatis in the town, at least one

member for each family, are expected to come and give their presents to the bride, in the shape mostly of money, the amount depending upon the means of each party, but not exceeding the limit of half a rupee. If any of the Komatis cannot attend the ceremony in person, either on account of ill-feeling existing between the two families, or for any other cause, they send their contribution through a proxy. It is said that the presents made by the bridegroom's party must be twice as much as those made by the other party. The sum thus collected, together with the 4½ Rs. (*mudumallaruka*) presented at the time of Mahalakshmi *puja*, are given as presents to the bride's sister and to the maternal uncle; something is given for charity, and any balance that is left is given to the girl for some jewel. On the night of this day, the girl is taken formally to her new house, for *Grihapravesam* or entering into the husband's house. The husband and wife are decked in bridal costume, with *bhashinga* on their foreheads, and the party go in state to the house where the bridegroom's party have been lodging. At the entrance, two married ladies wave *arati*, and the couple enter the house, when their right foot should be placed first on the threshold, and the bride should kick with her foot a measure of rice kept on purpose in the way, to indicate the wish that there should be plenty of grain in her family granaries. They then sit side by side. A row of five cocoanuts is placed before them, and *phalapuja* performed. The distribution of *tāmbula* and *dakshina* to the assembly takes place before they disperse, and the bride sleeps that night in her new home.

The next morning the girl goes back to her father's house with her husband, who has to be formally sent off by the parents-in-law. The pair are taken after dinner to a temple in procession with a *kalata*.

After worship there, the bridegroom is given certain additional presents, known as *Vallam Varadakshina*, to serve him during the journey—a rope, a brass vessel, a new cloth, one rupee, a cocoanut and a pair of nut-crackers, together with a quantity of rice, and other provisions. The girl remains behind with her parents, and the bridegroom and his party go back to his place.

The father of the bride generally gives some *Varadakshina* to the bridegroom, according to previous agreement, but the sum is not fixed by any caste custom. There is no custom of paying bride price.

During the first year after the marriage, the girl is generally taken to the husband's house, where she remains for a few days in the company of her mother or some other near relation, and returns to her father's house.

During the first year and often during the subsequent years also, till the girl attains puberty, the son-in-law is invited for the *Gauri* and *Dipāvali* feasts, when rich presents are given to him. The husband and wife are seated together on these occasions, and *nalugu* takes place in the evenings, with song and merriment. The young man also takes presents of clothes to the wife and her mother. Again, it is the custom among the Komatis, as among the Brāhmans, that the son-in-law, daughter-in-law and mother-in-law should not pass the same threshold in the *Āshāda* month of the first year of marriage.

The most auspicious season for marriage is during the five months beginning with the lunar month of Magha (January-February)

Widow marriage is not allowed.

Divorce, in the sense of complete dissolution of marriage, is not known in the caste. When a woman is found unchaste, she is expelled from her husband's house, and sometimes certain ceremonies called *Ghata-srāddha*, pseudo funeral ceremonies, are performed for her. Thereafter neither connection nor even relationship exists between her and her husband, but she may not remarry.

When a girl attains the age of womanhood, she is kept in a separate room. The information about it must be first announced by married women, if possible by five of them together, as being first discovered by them. When this is known, the girl is given milk and plantains to eat. She is considered impure for seven days, and no person may approach her within a certain distance without incurring impurity, which can be removed only by a bath and washing of clothes. Every evening, during these seven days, the girl is dressed in washed white clothes supplied by the village washerman. She is well dressed, decked out and seated on a plank seat in the presence of all the married women in the village, both Komatis and Brāhmans. This is called the ceremony of *Osage*. PUBERTY
CEREMONIES.

The seat for the girl is provided in a particular manner (known as spreading *dadiyam*) by five married women. They cover a plank and with a whitewashed strip of cloth supplied by the washerman, and stamp it on the four corners and in the centre with impressions of a palm of the right hand, with a red paint of turmeric and chunam. Flowers, turmeric, *kunkuma* (vermilion) and *akshate* (coloured rice) are thrown on the cloth. At the four corners, four brass lamps are kept burning, and a thread of cotton yarn is wound round them, thus enclosing the seat. The girl now sits on this seat. The women sing

songs, and present turmeric, *kunkuma*, flowers, etc. Five married ladies pound gingelly and jaggery, which are made into balls, and a little is given to the girl to eat. Then turmeric, *kunkuma*, betel-leaves, gingelly and nuts, with flowers and balls made of seeds and jaggery, are distributed to the women of the assembly, who then disperse. This is repeated every evening, the seat being arranged as on the first day by the girl herself. She is bathed on the seventh day six times successively, to cleanse her of the impurities of the six days. On that day, the married ladies that arranged the seats on the first day are anointed with oil and bathed. New bangles are put on their hands, and a *ravike* is presented to each. The girl is however considered to be in a state of comparative impurity for sixteen days from the beginning of the period, and may not enter the kitchen or other inner rooms of the house.

On the 1st, the 3rd or the 5th day, the news of the girl's puberty is sent to her husband's house, with a washerman. He also carries presents of gingelly oil, jaggery, turmeric roots, *kunkuma*, green gram, and a pair of *panches*, which are received at the husband's house. As a mark of joy, the husband's clothes are discoloured with red coloured water, and a feasting on a small scale takes place. The washerman is dismissed with a present for his service.

PRE-NATAL
CEREMONIES :
GARBHA-
DANAM.

Consummation of marriage is fixed on an auspicious day, chosen by an astrologer. Sometimes this event is put off if the *Nakshatra* or star under which the girl attained puberty, is considered to be unlucky. The young man with his relations goes to his wife's house. On the day fixed, the couple are bathed, and perform some *homa* * in the morning;

* *Homa* is a sacrifice performed by pouring ghee, with mantras addressed to various deities.

and a general dinner is given in honour of the occasion. At night, after food, the husband and wife, seated together, perform *phalapūja*, and then they are led into the bedroom, only the ladies going inside. Before they withdraw, another *phalapūja* takes place, and cocoanuts are presented to all the married women present.

Pregnancy and other rites are the same as those of the Brahmans.

When a girl is married as an infant, she remains in her parent's house till she comes of age, and till the consummation of her marriage takes place. In the meantime, whenever any auspicious event takes place in her husband's house, she goes with her parents and returns with them. It is the practice among Komatis, as among the Brāhmans, that the newly married girl should be taken to the husband's house during the first year of the marriage, and in default she may not be taken there on the second year, or any subsequent even year. When the girl is first sent to her husband's house, the ceremony of house-entering has to be performed once again in the husband's house.

An auspicious time is fixed for starting from her father's house. The girl is anointed and bathed and there is a feast in the house. The girl wears a new cloth, and is presented with fruits, *tāmbula*, etc., by her mother, the presents being wrapped in the folds of her garment. Rising from the seat, she prostrates herself before the household god, and then, before her parents and other elders, and receives their blessings. She goes round to the houses of her friends and relatives, to bid them good-bye, and generally receives some presents from them. The Komatis are very particular about the omens, and discontinue their journey when any ill omens occur. The mother, or in her absence some other elderly

female member, accompanies the girl, together with some male members.

On arriving at the husband's town, the party are received at the temple in front of the village. The bride and her husband are seated together, with a *kalasa* before them, and are besmeared with turmeric and sandal. The god in the temple is worshipped, and after the usual distribution of *tāmbula* and *kunkuma* to the ladies, the couple are led in procession to the husband's house. At the entrance, two married women wave *ārati*, and throw out the coloured water contained in the plate, the ceremony being meant mainly to ward off the effects of any evil eye that may have lighted on them. The couple enter the house, the wife having to place her right foot first in the house, and to upset a measure filled with rice kept on the threshold. *Phalapūja* takes place after this, and *ārati* is waved by married women. Cocoanuts, *tāmbula* and *dakshiṇa* are then distributed among the Brāhmans who have come there. This ceremony takes place between 8 and 9 P.M., the party having to come to the town in the evening at the hour when cows return home, which is technically known as *Gōdhūli lagna*. That night, a dinner is given to all the relatives in honour of the event.

The average marriageable age for boys may be put down as sixteen. As already noticed, this caste is particularly addicted to the celebration of early marriages. Marriages are always arranged by the parents. The castemen, as a whole, are becoming alive to the evils of infant marriage, and are evincing a tendency to raise the marriageable age. But the time may never be postponed beyond puberty.

The Komatis are said to have been closely connected with the Mādigas in a varieties of ways. "The Komatis," Mr. F. R. Hemingway writes, "do not, as a

rule, deny the fact of this connection. The Mādigas are apparently under the protection of the Komatis, and apply to them when in trouble, obtain loans and other assistance. Some Komatis explain the connection with the Mādigas by a story that either Vishṇu-Vardhana, or his successor Rājarāja Narēndra persecuted the Komatis, and that they had to fly for refuge to the Mādigas. The Mādigas took them in and hid them, and they say, that the present favour shown to that caste is only in gratitude for the kindness shown to them in the past. It is seen that this and other similar customs show that Mādigas have some claim upon the Komatis."

"Mr. J. S. P. Mackenzie of the Mysore Commission refers to the presentation of betel and nuts by the Komatis to the Madigas, thereby inviting them to be present at their marriages. Dr. G. Oppert refers to the same custom. Having risen in the social scale, the Komatis would naturally wish to give this invitation covertly. Major Mackenzie says, that the Komatis in Mysore, in order to covertly invite the Madigas to the wedding, went to the back of their houses, at a time when they were not likely to be seen, and whispered into an iron vessel, such as is commonly used for measuring grain, an invitation in the following words :— 'In the house of the small ones (Komatis), a marriage is going to take place. The members of the big house (Madigas) are to come. The Madigas look on such secret invitation, as an insult, and would, if they saw the inviters, handle them roughly. The presentation of the betel leaf and nuts is sometimes veiled by the Komati concerned sending his shoes to be mended by the Mādiga a few days before the wedding, deferring payment till the wedding day, and then handling the Madiga the leaf and nut with the amount of his bill.' According to another account, the Komati of set purpose unbinds the toe rings of his native shoes (*cherupu*), and summons the Mādiga whose function is to make and repair those articles of attire. The Mādiga quietly accepts the job, and is paid more amply than is perhaps necessary in the shape of *pan-supari*, flowers and money. On the acceptance by the Madiga of betel and nuts, the Komati asks 'Cherinda, Cherinda,' i.e., has it reached you, and the Madiga replies, it has reached. Until he replies thus, the mangalyam cannot be tied round the bride's neck."

"Writing early in the eighteenth century, Buchanan* refers to a dispute at Gubbi in the Mysore State between the Komatis and the Banajigas, which arose from the former building a temple to their goddess Kanyakamma. Purnia, the prime minister, divided the town by a wall thus separating the two parties. The Komatis claimed that it had been the custom for all parties to live together and that it would be an infringement of the rules of caste for them to be forced into a separate quarter. The chief of the Komatis entered the town in procession on horseback with an umbrella held over his head. The assumption of rank was regarded by the Banajigas with utmost indignation. To such a pitch did the quarrels reach that at the time of Buchanan's visit, there was a rumour current as to the necessity of killing a jackass in the street which would cause the immediate dissolution of the place." "There is not a Hindu in Karnata that would remain another night in it unless by compulsion. Even the adversaries of the party would think themselves bound in honour to fly. The singular custom seems to be one of the resources upon which the natives have fallen to resist arbitrary oppression, and may be had recourse to whenever the Government infringes or is considered to have infringed upon the custom of any caste. It is of no avail against any other kind of oppression." †

"I cannot," Major Mackenzie writes, "discover the connection between the Komatis and the Mādigas who belong to different divisions. The Komatis belong to 10 pana division, while the Mādigas are the members of the 9 pana. One reason has been suggested. The caste goddess of the Komatis is the virgin Kannika Amma who destroyed herself rather than marry a prince, because he was of another caste. She is usually represented by a vessel full of water, and before the marriage ceremonies are commenced, she is brought in state from the temple and placed in the seat of honour in the house. The Mādigas claim Kannika their goddess, worship her under the name of Mātangi and object to the Komatis taking their Goddess." The Komatis stoutly deny that there is any connection between Mātangi and Kannyaka Amma, and it would seem that they are independent goddesses." ‡

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

The name-giving ceremony takes place on the 16th day after the birth of the child, when the mother

* Oopert : *Original Inhabitants of India*.

† E. Thurston : *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, 328, 329 and 331.

‡ E. Thurston : *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. III, page 331. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, 1879.

and the child are purified by bath to be free from pollution. The ceremony is like that for the Brāhmanas. In the evening, the women assemble, and put the child in a cradle. On some subsequent day, the *purōhit* casts the horoscope, recording the date and time of birth and the position of the planets at that time.

Their names, like those of other high caste Hindus, are taken from the names of gods of the Hindu Pantheon; but the following may, to some extent, be said to be peculiar.

<i>Men.</i>	<i>Women.</i>
Akka Setti.	Akkalamma
Chalamayya	Giramma.
Changayya Setti.	Mangamma.
Kappayya.	Sanjivamma.
Kusuma Setti.	Vasavamma.
Rokkayya.	Yangamma.
Yangayya Setti	

They are extremely fond of shortening their names, and the terms of endearment, such as Papadu, Chinnodu, Chinnasami, Puttu, Bidda, and Ammayya are very common. A person sometimes acquires a nickname, either by reason of his profession, or any bodily deformity or other similar cause, *e.g.*, Bangār-ayya (goldman), Mutyāla Setti (dealer in pearls), Nallappa (Blackman). When the child's real name happens to be that of the chief male member of the family, a different name is usually given, as the women consider it wanting in respect to utter the real name often.

Sometimes, when the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom, in an otherwise desirable match, do not agree, the girl gets a different name, and is assumed to have been born under the star which, by a well-known convention, is taken to answer to that name.

Occasionally, Komatis share the superstition that when children successively die, it will be well to name a new child after some low or opprobrious object. The reason is probably the belief, that by pretending to despise the value of the child, they will mislead the powers above into a similar frame of mind, so that they may consider it not worth while to carry away this child too. Such names as the following are given, though very rarely : Gauda, Gundi (round stone), Tippa, Tippi (manure heap), and Kallappa (stone).

INHERI- TANCE.

Komatis follow the Hindu law of inheritance. At the time of partition, an extra share (*Jeshthāmsā*) is generally allowed to the eldest brother. Sometimes *illitam** is practised, but rarely.

Trial by ordeal has long been out of practice in this caste, as in many higher castes. Oaths are taken in enquiries where regular witnesses cannot be had. Swearing in the names of their tribal goddess, and of the parents and children, is common. One form of oath-taking is making the swearer stand before an image in a temple, with a garland of red flowers round his neck, and the book *Rāmāyana* in his hands, and asking him to make a statement as to a fact. Such swearing is very rarely, if at all, resorted to. They believe in omens, sorcery, oracles, and other superstitions, according to their individual culture and idiosyncrasies.

ADOPTION.

Adoption is allowed and practised; the boy must belong to the same *gōtra*. The ceremonies observed are the same as those observed among

* *Illitam*, somewhat funnily spelt and pronounced is a compound of the Dravidian term *illu*, a house, or family; and 'atam' (status or acting). When one has no sons, a daughter is married to a man who agrees to become a member of the family, and who thereafter resides in the father-in-law's house, and inherits his estate for his children.

the Brāhmans, except that, instead of the Vedic, the Puranic ritual is observed. Generally a deed of adoption is drawn up, and attested by the natural parents of the boy, and by other witnesses. A dinner is given in honour of the occasion and all the castemen are invited.

They have caste councils, at the head of which are Setti and Yajaman, who get the first seats at all meetings and first *tāmbulas* on occasions like marriage. These councils are competent to judge and decide questions relating to the caste disputes; and they should be consulted whenever the community have to invite their Brāhman Guru Bhāskarāchārya to visit their place. Of such Bhaskaracharyas, there are several families, who have jurisdiction over Komatis in different defined districts. They make periodical visits, enquire into and decide breaches of caste rules, and tribal disputes, and give *tirtha* and *prasāda* to their disciples. They derive a fairly regular revenue from the presents given by these men on such occasions.

CASTE
COUNCIL.

The Komatis have another functionary, called *Mum-madi Setti*, who is jocularly believed to sit at the head of the table at large dinner parties, to regulate the distribution of food. They are said to have a convention that what he declines, other guests are all to decline, and that he regulates his conduct by the quantity of the particular dish available, as he sits near the kitchen and can see everything inside.

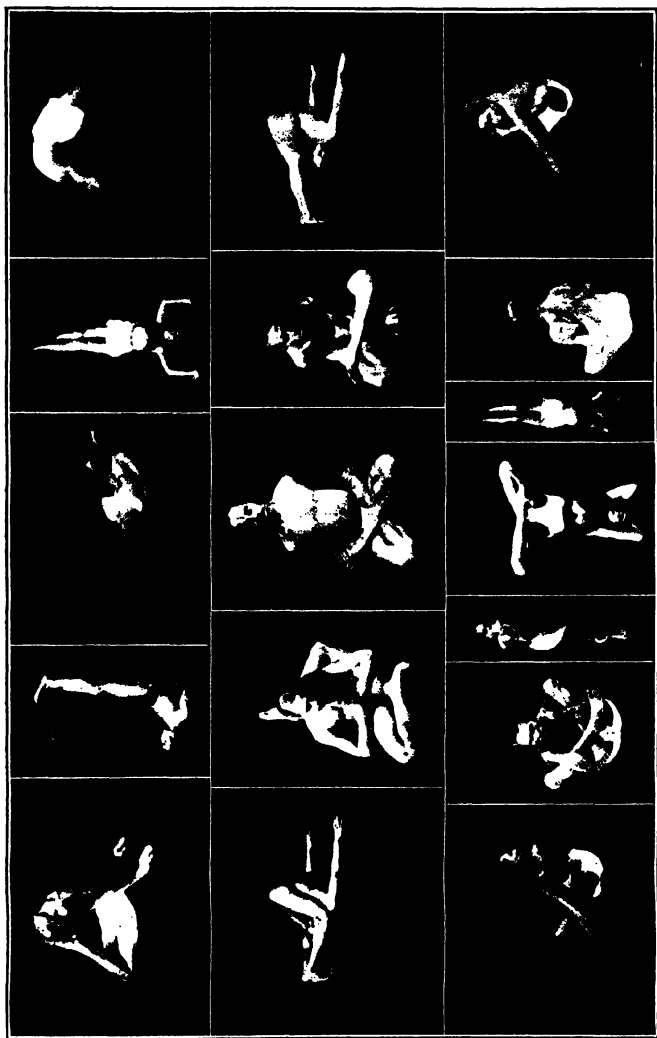
It is somewhat curious that this caste of traders should have no trade guilds. Each man looks to his own business, a knowledge of which he keeps carefully to himself. But they have a strong clannish feeling, and are ready to set again their unfortunate castemen on their legs, if they can do so without much sacrifice on their own part.

RELIGION.

The Komatis employ Brāhmans for religious and ceremonial purposes. Indeed, no other caste is more attached to the Brāhmans, or more dependent on them for religious purposes, than the Komatis. Unlike other castes, the women of this caste consider it a religious duty to offer *tambula*, fruits and flowers to the Brāhman ladies on every festive occasion, some on every Tuesday, and some others almost every day, and receive their blessings, in the efficacy of which they have implicit faith. Their tribal goddess Kanyaka, is generally worshipped by a man of the Mailari caste, but latterly even for this they employ Brāhmans, who seem to satisfy their scruples against worshipping a tribal goddess of a lower caste, by postulating a divine nature for the Kanyaka, as being an incarnation of Siva's consort, Pārvati.

There are both Saivas and Vaishnavas among the Komatis. They worship all the gods of the Hindus without showing exclusive preference to any. Besides, each family has a tutelary deity to whom special offerings are made on such occasions as marriage or illness.

In common with the Brāhmans and other higher castes, the Komatis worship Nāga, the serpent god. This worship is generally confined to women, and is carried on a large scale once a year, on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Srāvana (July and August). The representations of serpents are cut in stone slabs, and are set up round an *Aśvattha* tree, on a platform, on which is also generally planted a margosa tree. These snakes in stones are set up in performance of vows, and are said to be specially efficacious in curing bad sores, and other skin diseases and in having children. The women go to such places for worship with milk, fruits and flowers on the prescribed day, which is observed as a feast day. The stones are washed, smeared over with turmeric,



A GROUP OF KOMATI YOUNGSTERS PERFORMING YOGIC FEATS.

sandal, etc., and offerings of milk, curds, and fruits are made to them, and some *dakṣiṇa* is given to the *purōhit* and other Brāhmins. Sometimes they search out the holes, and pour some milk for live serpents. The previous day (4th of this month) is also held sacred for the *pūja*. Other important days on which the serpent worship is performed are the 6th days of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha, Pushya and Māgha.

The *Asvattha*, or peepul tree, is another object of worship, being held to be the special abode of Viṣṇu, or Nārayaṇa, who is hence known as Asvatha Nārayaṇa. The margosa is considered the female, to go in conjunction with this tree, and one is planted with this, and a ceremony of mock marriage is conducted before consecrating these trees. The main feature of this *pūja* is to go round and round the tree a fixed number of times every day. This worship is believed to cure mental derangement, such as possession of devils, and also to help childless women to conceive. The benefit of a clean bath early in the morning, followed by open air physical exercise, especially to women of the better classes, whose habits are so sedentary, are valuable consequences of this form of worship, and the devotees, it is no wonder, are often rewarded with the fulfilment of their desires.

Tulasi (Basil) and *Bilva* plants are considered sacred, and the former plant is planted on a well-built platform and worshipped.

Their patron god is Nagarēśvara, and the goddess is Kanyakaparamēśvari whose worship is obligatory. They do not worship any other minor gods; but when, at the time of epidemics or otherwise, the villagers worship Māri and other village gods, the Komatis have no objection to contribute their quota, and offer cocoanuts and flowers.

FUNERAL
CEREMONIES.

In funeral ceremonies, they are mostly influenced by the Brāhmanas, whose customs they have adopted entirely. The ceremonies observed are the same as those of the Brāhmanas, but the ritual is puranic.

When the approach of death is apprehended, a Brāhman prepares Panchagavya,* and administers it to the dying man, to purify his body. Often a cow,† with *dakshina* is presented to a Brāhman. When the man arrives at his last moment, a gold piece and leaves of Tulasi (sacred basil), are put into his mouth, and every one of the relatives pours some water into his mouth, as the last service which they can do to him on earth.‡

As soon as life is extinct, the body is bathed, and wrapped in a new cloth, and is placed flat on a bamboo bier, called *chatta*. The chief mourner bathes in cold water, and wears wet clothes. He then kindles a fire in front of the house (*s'avagni*), and does *homa* for the purpose of obtaining expiation of six kinds.§ In an earthen pot, rice is taken for *pathi pinda*, that is for offering it when the body is placed on the ground halfway to the cremation ground. Here the bearers change sides. On arrival at the cremation ground,

* Panchagavya are the "five products of the cow" (i.e., milk, butter-milk, ghee, urine and excreta) mixed together and consecrated with *mantras*. When the mixture is swallowed, in the prescribed manner, it is said to purify the body and cleanse it of the effects of all previous sins.

† The receipt of a cow as a gift is considered a very low act, requiring *prayaschitta* to purify the donee. Indeed it seems to be the belief that, the more efficacious a gift to the donor, the more heinous a sin it is on the part of the donee to receive it.

‡ Among Brahmanas and other higher castes, they try to make the dying man pronounce the name of Narayana, and shout it in his ears, so that it may at least occur to his mind. Komatis so identify this name with the moment of death, that they do not pronounce it on ordinary occasions, and are reported to hold a solemn consultation whether the moment has arrived for making a sick man pronounce "that word."

When a man's name happens to be Narayana, they corrupt it into something as Narayya.

§ The six objects of expiation are :—
ಉದ್ವಿಗ್ನಚೈವ, ಅಧೋಚೈವ, ಅಂತರಿಕ್ಷಮರಣ, ಭೂಮರಣ, ಅಕಾಶಮರಣ
and ಆಸ್ಥಾನಮರಣ.

ceremonies called *Paithri karma*, *Chiti Samskāra*, and *Prēta Dahana hōma*, are performed before placing the dead body on the funeral pyre. Then ghee is poured on the body, perhaps with the object that it may facilitate the complete burning of every part of it, and some coins (gold or silver) are placed on the four corners of the pyre. The chief mourner perambulates the bier three times with a pot on his shoulders, filled with water, and the by-standers throw a stone at the pot at the end of each turn. The Brāhman repeats the appropriate *mantra*, and the chief mourner lights the pyre. The *Nagna Srāddha* is performed to remove blindness, deafness, or other bodily defect that may possibly have afflicted the deceased in life. The party stop at the cremation-ground till the body is half burnt, and then, bathing in a well or a tank, all return home. The bearers and mourners, before going to their respective houses, have to look at a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. This light is kept for fifteen days. During this period, at meal time, before any member of the family eats, food and water are kept near the light, and some cooked rice is thrown over the roof of the house, to be eaten by the crows. On the 16th day, the light is put out. From the second day forwards, obsequial ceremonies called *Nityavidhi* are performed every morning. They are the same as those observed by Brāhmins, and are as follows :—

A large-sized pebble is set apart (*śila sthāpana*), and the ghost of the deceased, which is believed to be hovering about without going to the other world is invoked into it (*Prēta-āvāhana*). This is washed with water in which a cloth is immersed, and sesamum seed, are thrown (*Vāsōdaka* and *Tilādaka*). Next *Pindas* (balls of cooked food) are offered, and then thrown to the crows. If the latter do not readily

carry them away, it is considered that the deceased has not had all his earthly desires fulfilled, and the survivors promise that his last wishes will be carried out. On the third day, the ceremony of *sanchayana* is performed; the ashes of the deceased are collected, and scattered in water, and the unburnt bones, if any, are collected and thrown in water, or are kept by, to be carried to a sacred river, such as the Kaveri or the Ganga, if the family can afford the expense.

On the 15th day, after the *Nityavidhi*, the stone is removed after *śilavisarjana*, the ghost being supposed to leave this temporary abode. A *hōma* is performed to get rid of the *sūtaka* (pollution). The *Prēta* and *Prēta sākha* and Rudra are worshipped, all the male agnates (having no father alive) taking part in it. On the 16th day, a he-calf is branded, and set at large to roam about ownerless, and this ceremony, called *Vrishavatsarga*, is believed to rid the soul of its *Paisacha* character. Then *ājya srāddha* is performed, for the purpose of purifying the deceased's soul, to render it fit to take the next form, that of *Vasurūpa*. *Shōdasa srāddha*, or 16 *srāddhās*, which, properly speaking, should be spread over the whole year, are finished this day, as it would otherwise be inconvenient for the family to remain in pollution during the entire period. Then follows *Sapindi-karma*, or uniting the *pinda* (corpus) of the deceased with those of the ancestors. This is believed to give the deceased a higher spirit nature (Vasu, Rudra and Āditya). All the agnates bathe after this, and get rid of their *sūtaka* this day. The next day, they have *Vaikunṭha Samārādhana*, feeding the Brāhmins, to ensure for the deceased an entry into Vaikunṭha, or the abode of Vishnu, the region of bliss.

Even after this course of ceremonies is run through, the chief mourner is not considered as being free

from *sūtaka* (pollution) completely for one year. During this period he has to perform monthly ceremonies on days corresponding to that on which the deceased died, and also similar ceremonies on the twelve new-moon days. At the end of the year, the *Srāddha* and *Vaikuntha Samārādhana* are to be repeated. This completes the period of mourning, and it is only after that, that the chief mourner may perform any auspicious events, such as marriage in his family. The period of mourning lasts for sixteen days for all the agnates of seven degrees, and for five days for the rest. If a child under six months dies, a mere bath (overhead) removes the pollution; so also a bath only is taken for the death of a daughter's son.

During the period of pollution, the mourners should not wear caste marks, and should abstain from sweets, milk, betel-leaves and nuts, flowers, sandal, etc. They must observe sexual abstinence, and may not attend to their daily ablutions in the usual form. The Komatis perform *Kala Srāddha*, that is *Srāddhas* on the day of the year corresponding to the day of death. They observe the dark fortnight of Bhādrapāda (August-September) as the period fixed for performing ceremonies for propitiating the ancestors in general. On the last day of the month (new-moon day), they give rice and other provisions, with some money, to Brāhmans.

For a childless ancestor, some one of the near agnates performs the obsequial ceremonies. Until they are performed, no auspicious ceremonies can take place in the house of any of the agnates. If a person meets with a violent death, a period of three to six months is allowed to elapse before beginning the funeral ceremonies. A *prayaschitta* (an expiatory ceremony) for purifying the *prēta* (ghost) of the evil of such death, is first performed, and then the rest of the usual ceremonies are gone through.

Generally, before beginning any auspicious ceremony, such as marriage, the female ancestors are worshipped by installing a *kalāṣa* in the central portion of the house, and offering *tāmbūla*, with some sweets, to it, by way of worship. Married women are invited, and are entertained at a dinner.

When a second wife is subject to any ailment, it is generally attributed to the trouble caused by the deceased, and accordingly the latter is worshipped like other female ancestors.

No clothes are burnt with the dead body. In fact, even the cloth with which the body is wrapped, is afterwards removed and the nakedness is covered by means of plantain leaves. Cooked rice and ghee are thrown into the pyre when it is lit, to propitiate Agni.

OCCUPATION. Komatis believe that their original occupations were those fixed by orthodox opinion for the Vaiśya caste, i.e., agriculture, cattle-rearing and commerce. The first two are seldom followed at the present day. Any lands they hold, they farm out to raiyats, on *vāra* or other tenures. They are, at present, mainly a trading class in South India, and are neither artisans nor hunters. Some have of late taken to Government service. Change of profession does not lower them in status, so long as the profession adopted is not a base one, such as sweeping, scavenging, etc., in which case the man loses caste. Some are bankers, cloth merchants, sellers of all kinds of spices, while others are brokers and jewellers and money changers.

They are high up in the scale of castes, and are almost as strict as the Brāhmins in observing rules of personal cleanliness and restrictions in eating and drinking. Their claim to be considered as Vaiśyas, though generally allowed, is disputed by rival claimants, especially by Nagartas and those known as

Jyotinagara, who are oil pressers by profession ; and stories, calculated to lower their status, are often told to account for their origin. Such stories are, however, of little value, originating chiefly from bias and class jealousy, and some of them are even unfit for publication. On the other hand, passages are cited from authoritative works to show that Vaiśyas, like Kshatriyas, have disappeared in the Kaliyuga. Whatever the strict interpretation of these authorities may lead to, there is little doubt that these Komatis have preserved their separate identity and purity remarkably well, and that if they are not really the descendants of the old Vaiśya class, they are quite as good as the original Vaiśyas were, in their relative position in the hierarchy of Indian castes.

There are no traces visible of the caste having had any unsettled or wandering habits. The Komatis are very conservative in their customs and manners, and are extremely unwilling to move from their settled places. They have no recognized headquarters, but are found largely in big trading centres. They are most numerous in Mysore, Bangalore and Chintāmani. Penukonda in the Krishna District, where their tribal goddess is reputed to have been born, is believed to be their head-quarters, but very few of this State have seen the place.

SOCIAL
STATUS.

No outsider may be admitted into the caste. Some transgressions, such as eating flesh, or eating with a lower caste, are inexpiable, and involve expulsion from caste ; and Komatis are quite as strict as Brāhmans in this respect. Less serious faults may be atoned for by suitable *prāyaschitta* (purification), and payment of a fine to the caste *Guru*, who gives *tīrtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and food and flowers that have been offered to God) as a token of accepted expiation.

FOOD.

Komatīs are strict vegetarians, and totally abstain from liquor.

Brāhmans are the only class in whose house they eat, while Bēdas, Mādīgas and Korachas are the only lower classes who eat in the houses of the Komatīs. Though Komatīs are considered so high in the social scale, it is really surprising that even some of the low class people do not eat in their houses, nor drink water touched by them. Mailaris, who profess to be a sub-division of the Balijas, eat in the houses of Komatīs, but it is due to the fortuitous circumstance that, as noted above, they became attached to the Komatīs, and are considered as their children.

APPEARANCE,
DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS.

Komatīs are generally of middle height and of dark complexion. They are an intelligent, hard-working and thrifty caste. They are eminently successful in their vocations, and there are many among them who have amassed a fair amount of wealth. They are proverbially known as lacking in courage, both moral and physical, and are credited with an unusual share of that weapon of the weak, cunning and duplicity. "But the verdict that they enjoy an unenviable notoriety for sharp practice and fraud, and are doubtless cunning, overreaching and unscrupulous in their business,* is harsh and undeserved." There are fewer criminals found among them than in almost any other class, and though they are believed to resort to petty ways of making profit, they are remarkably free from the vice of making false claims, or setting up false accounts. The term Komati has, however, almost become synonymous with a petty-minded cunning fellow, and it is no wonder that the men of this caste prefer the appellation of a Vaiśya to it.

* *North Arcot Manual*, 1895, page 205.

In their dress and ornaments, Komatis do not differ much from the Brāhmins. The dress of males consists of a *panche* (tied round the waist), a *dhotra* (or an upper-cloth), a turban and sometimes a long coat; of late, however, improved methods of dressing are adopted. The Komati woman wears a *stré* and a *ravike*. Komati women are not noted for their personableness, and they are particular in colouring their limbs and cheeks with turmeric. The hair of the head is gathered into a long plait, and is allowed to hang straight down the back. Long hair is considered as one of the essentials of beauty, and those who are wanting in this, use yak-tails, which are enmeshed with the natural hair and plaited. The women are, as a rule, very profuse in their jewels, and large sums are invested in gold ornaments.

(b) Komatis, as Vaiśyas, wear the sacred thread, and their right thereto is never disputed. The married condition of a man is denoted by his wearing two or three *yagnopavitas* (of three threads each), and by the presence of a toe-ring on the second toe of the right foot. The married condition of a woman is indicated by her wearing the *tali*, a nose-screw on the left of the nose, wearing of *Bugadi*, *Ole*, glass bangles on the wrists, and toe-rings.

(c) Different from Brahman widows, though they shave their heads, they continue to wear a few ornaments (bangles, etc.) on their person, while the Brāhman widows avoid all such vanity.

(d) Komati women sometimes undergo tattooing when in girlhood, but very rarely afterwards. The operation is done by a Koracha woman. The designs represent Brindavana, or bed of the sacred basil, central bottu, or a dot on the forehead, a plantain bush, or some geometrical figure.

From the foregoing account, it may be seen, that Komatis, as a mercantile class, are widely spread all over the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, as also in Berar, Central Provinces, and Baroda. Various fanciful derivations are given for the derivation of the name Komati. Their claim for the designation Vaiśya is being disputed by a few of the castes with corresponding status and occupations. Nevertheless, the caste as a highly organized community has undergone considerable elevation by following the manners and customs of the Brāhmins whose services

CONCLUSION.

are requisitioned for all their ceremonies. The relation of the Komatis with the Madigas is variously explained. As traders, they are a progressive community possessing all the aptitudes for that profession. They are clever, thrifty and crafty, and many stories and proverbs refer to their wealth, thrift and other qualities.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF GÔTRAS.

Gôtra	Rishi	Article tabooed
1. Granthi Sila kula	Gautama ..	Flower of the tree Bauhinia purpurea.
2. Vyalakulakula or velagollakula.	Jaimini ..	Fruit of the tree Emblic myrabolan.
3. Budhanakula or Budhikula.	Bhargava ..	Lime fruit.
4. Koratakula or Kuratakula.	Matanga ..	A pumpkin.
5. Poddhisista ..	Preethamanaska	Green pulse.
6. Perusista ..	Bruhadasva ..	Curds of the sheep.
7. Inkola ..	Soundarya ..	The red lotus.
8. Surasista ..	Sanatkumara ..	The gourd Momordica monodelpha Roxb.
9. Karakapala ..	Kousika ..	A tall shrub, the gigantic swallow-wort or manure-leaf. Calotropis gigantea R.Br.
10. Santala ..	Valmiki ..	A prickly tree with an eatable pod, Prosopis spicigera.
11. Tuppala ..	Thumbara ..	The long pepper.
12. Pippalakula or Puppalakula.	Pesala ..	The pungent fruit Photos officinalis.
13. Vasantakula ..	Varuna ..	The brinjal.
14. Puneeta or Putcha	Sukanchana ..	A bitter gourd.
15. M santakula ..	Kapilacharya ..	Black gram.
16. Vikramasista ..	Visvamitra ..	Red earth or ochre.
17. Ayanakula ..	Pingala ..	Linum Usitatissimum.
18. Mandikula ..	Kapila ..	Mango.
19. Balisista ..	Bharadvaja ..	A kind of fruit.
20. Padmasista ..	Muniraju ..	Lotus stock.
21. Anantakula ..	Rushyasringa ..	A kind of pulse.
22. Vinna or Vennakula.	Mandapala ..	Bamboo seed.
23. Komarasista or Kumarasista.	Ugrasena ..	A species of Baeria.
24. Morukula ..	Markandeya ..	Indian fig.
25. Mounji or Munjikula.	Munjivratudu ..	Pepper.
26. Abhimanchakula	Yajnavalkya ..	Myrabolan.
27. Channasista ..	Soundilya ..	Panicum grain.
28. Srisista or Sirisista.	Sridhara ..	Bengal Gram.
29. Prahinu or Pydikula.	Angirasa ..	Momordica charantia.

LIST OF GÖTRAS—*contd.*

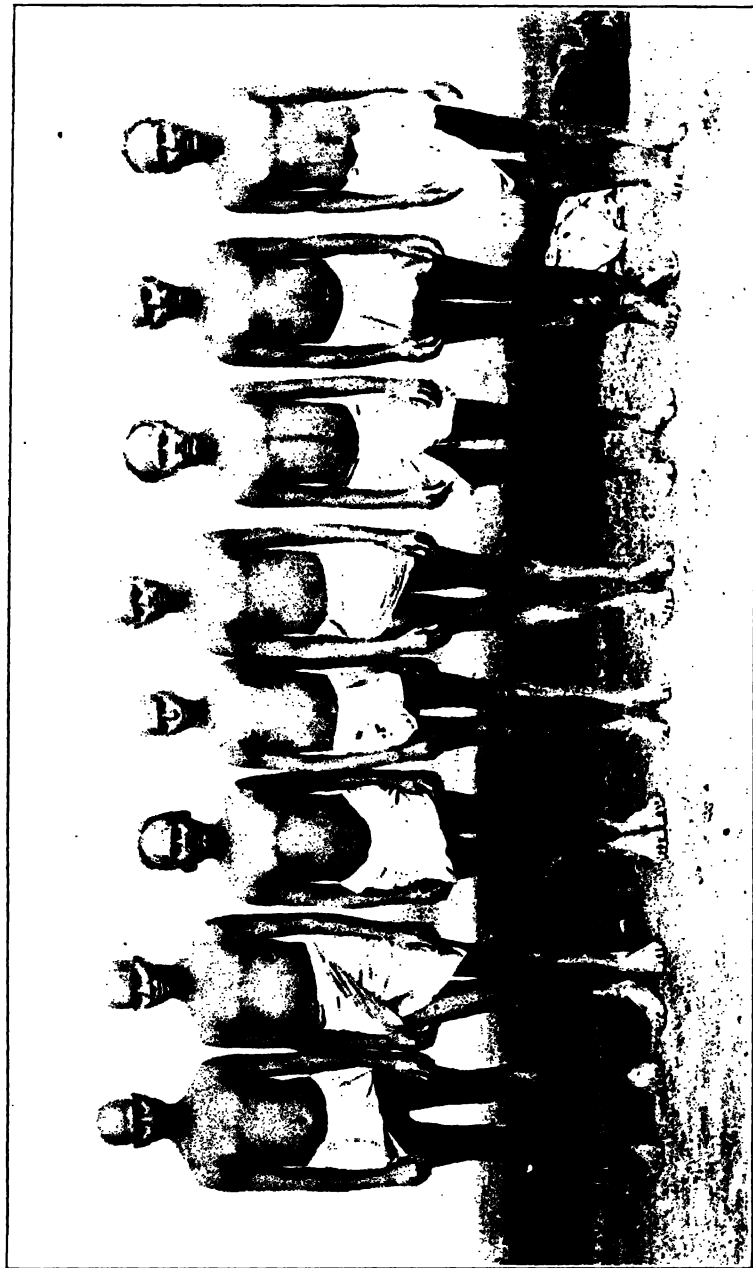
Götra	Rishi	Article tabooed
30. Ghanasrilakula ..	Koundinya ..	Kitchen herb <i>Closia albida</i> .
31. Bhramada or Bhramara.	Gargya ..	A kind of fruit.
32. Prithvisista ..	Bhrigu ..	Jambolina.
33. Renta ..	Samvarta ..	The fragrant grass <i>Cyperus rotundus</i> .
34. Usecera ..	Harivaktra ..	<i>Emblia officinalis</i> .
35. Susalakula or Susallakula.	Angirasa.	
36. Chidupa or Chidurupa.	Pavitrapani ..	<i>Chrusanthemum</i>
37. Dheekshama ..	Akshaya ..	Grapes.
38. Budharuksha or Budhar.	Bodhayana ..	A species of Jessamine.
39. Yanasabhikula or Yanasakula.	Pisabarbara ..	Wheat.
40. Kamasista ..	Kamyaka ..	Camphor-radish and other esculent roots.
41. Kadamba ..	Koutsuka ..	Black lotus.
42. Anumarshanakula	Sthulasiraska ..	Alum.
43. Yelamanoa ..	Krishna Dvai- payana.	Cardamom.
44. Trimulakula ..	Madhavudu ..	Camphor.
45. Krama sista ..	Sarbhanga ..	A radish and other esculent roots.
46. Proudhayaji ..	Mousala ..	Snake-gourd.
47. Samasista ..	Sanandana ..	Bamboo seed.
48. Palakula ..	Pavana ..	Bael tree.
49. Ishupa or Isupa- kula.	Vishnuvardhana	Asafoetida.
50. Chakramula ..	Chakrapani ..	Kitchen herb.
51. Vastikula ..	Vasista ..	Cuscut grass.
52. Kranukula ..	Pundarika ..	Red radish.
53. Dhanakula ..	Krishna ..	<i>Achyranthes aspera</i> .
54. Trivikramasista ..	Trijata ..	Pumpkin.
55. Virarisista ..	Vishvakosena ..	Jessamine.
56. Tulasikula ..	Putikarsha ..	Hilly Basil.
57. Bhmasista ..	Jabali ..	White silk.
58. Ikshvaku ..	Mahatejaska ..	China rose.
59. Hastikula ..	Soumya ..	A kind of vegetable.
60. Ganamukha ..	Kasyapa ..	Fragrant oleander.
61. Dhana gunda ..	Samvartaka ..	Pomegranate.
62. Vanasista ..	Samika ..	Bitter vegetables.
63. Venkola ..	Vedanidhi ..	Brinjals.
64. Andira ..	Satyavrata ..	Jambolina.
65. Thankara ..	Mahasena.	
66. Mushitita ..	Muchikunda ..	A kind of root.

LIST OF GŌTRAS—*contd.*

Gōtra	Rishi	Article taboed
67. Chandaka ..	Dhoumya ..	Sugar-cane.
68. Triakashika ..	Turyavrata.	
69. Mangama ..	Hayagriva ..	Phaseolus radiatus.
70. Vridhdhi ..	Brihaspati.	
71. Kamala ..	Suka ..	White lotus.
72. Kanya ..	Premada ..	Jambolina.
73. Samana ..	Kanchana ..	Jessamine.
74. Souna kula ..	Sounaka ..	Panicum grain.
75. Amala ..	Asvalayana ..	Indian fig.
76. Gundakula ..	Sarnagarava ..	Lime fruit.
77. Sripumaisika ..	Pulastya.	
78. Udvahakula ..	Prabhatudu ..	A kind of herb.
Pendilikula or Ravisista.		
79. Manyakula ..	Mandavya ..	A species of curcums.
Manabhā.		
80. Anupa ..	Agastya ..	Phaseolus Radiatus.
Anupala.		
81. Inchupa ..	Gopa ..	White lotus.
Ghonta.		
82. Turyata or Tota ..	Putimasha. ..	Red water cresses.
Tulasista.		
83. Srilakula or ..	Srivatsa ..	A small kind of castor oil seed.
Chilatula.		
Srirangakula.		
84. Ghantasthula or ..	Pallava ..	Plantain fruits.
Ghantasula.		
Ganapa.		
85. Sreshtakundala ..	Kandarpa ..	Sandal.
Chara.		
86. Paiaaka ..	Dalbhya.	
Patana.		
87. Desista or Desetla ..	Devala ..	Pinus deodara.
Dayasista.		
88. Mathana or ..	Maitreya ..	The fragrant screwpine or
Mithuna.		Pandanus flower.
Madhya or		
Maddhi.		
89. Sanakula ..	Sanaka ..	Nutmeg.
90. Utkula ..	Narada ..	Achyranthes as para.
Utasista.		
91. Kouti or Kota- ..	Kanva ..	Pigeon pea.
kula.		
Karnata or		
Karnakula.		
92. Channakula ..	Jayhu ..	Guava.
Jannakula.		

LIST OF GÖTRAS—*concl'd.*

Götra	Rishi	Article tabooed
93. Dantakula .. Dyanta or Dontakula.	Sutikshana ..	Phaseolus radiatus.
94. Munikula .. Malakula. Nabhilana or Nabhillakula.	Moudagalya ..	Horse radish.
95. Harisitla or Arisitla. Yarasitla or Yalisitla. Yarasakula.	Atreya ..	Pongamia glabra.
96. Chandrakula .. Chandasista. Chandramula.	Jatukarna ..	Sandalwood.
97. Prolekha or Prolikula. Pungamannukula Prolisista.	Poundika ..	The marking nut.
98. Chintyakula .. Chintala. Chintala. Chintamasistla.	Satyaka ..	Tamarind.
99. Vrangakula .. Vradasista. Vrakkala.	Vayavya ..	Mustard.
100. Upamanyukula .. Upala. Upanakula ..	Vamadeva ..	The long pepper piper longum.
101. Proudhasila or Pagadasilakula. Pragbala Pam- bala. Pranasila or Pranasula. Kamadhenu or Kamathakula. Punagosila or Punagasilakula.	Parasara ..	Date.
Gosila	Poulastya	Civet
Uttamagosila Pallavagosila Patugosila Satyagosila Bhimagosila Srigosila Nandigosila Suryagosila		



A GROUP OF KORACHA MALES.

KORACHA.

INTRODUCTION—LANGUAGE—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE TRIBE—HABITATIONS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE, ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS, EXAGOMOUS CLANS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES, FEEDING, NAMING—COUVADE—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—TRIBAL ORGANIZATION—ADMISSION OF OUTSIDERS INTO THE TRIBE—MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

KORACHAS, also known as Koramas or Koravas, INTRODUCTION. are a tribe of hunters, fortune-tellers, cattle-breeders, carriers, basket-makers and thieves. They are found all over the Mysore State, in the districts of South Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Salem and Coimbatore of the Madras Presidency, as also in those of Belgaum, Bijapur, and Dharwar of the Bombay Presidency, and in the Native States of the Mahratta Agency.

The name Korcha or Koracha, says Mr. Thurston, appears to be of a later date than Korava, and is said to be derived from the Hindustani *kuri** (sly), *korinigga* (slylook) becoming corrupted into Koracha. But the two words Koracha and Korama are otherwise derived from the verb *kuru*, meaning to divine or prognosticate, and are applied to the tribe owing to their profession of fortune-telling which their women practise. There is still another derivation of these terms from a word which means hillman (cf. Tamil *kurani*-a hill country) showing that these tribesmen are wild hillmen living in jungles. Both

* E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. III, page 441.

the derivations appear to be plausible. In the Telugu districts, the tribesmen are called *Yerukula* which comes from the root *eru* or *yerru* which signifies to know or divine. *Koravanji makkalu* means children of the Koravanji, a female fortune-teller. Many Koravas who live in towns repudiate the name and call themselves *Balijas* or *Koravanjis*.*

It has been assumed by some that *Korachas* and *Koramas* are two different tribes; but there is a strong reason to believe that the names are mere local variations for one and the same tribe. Among them, exogamic clans and family names are similar, and the tribesmen have similar customs, such as a maternal uncle's right to the first two daughters of his sister for the marriage of his sons, the payment of the *tera* in easy instalments spread over a number of years. It is curious to note that the *Korachas*, when questioned, say that the *Koramas* are of a different tribe addicted to thieving which the latter stoutly resent.

LANGUAGE.

The Koravas, or *Koramas* speak Tamil, Telugu or Canarese, according to the localities in which they live. But in communicating among themselves, the Koravas and *Yerukulas* speak a corrupt polyglot, in which the words derived from different languages bear little resemblance. The words appear to belong to the three languages above mentioned. A few words collected by Mr. F. Fawcett, the late Deputy Inspector-General of Police, are herein given:—

1. Constable	..	Erthalakayadu	..	Red-headed man.
2. Head Constable	..	Kederarilu	..	The man who rides on an ass.
3. Taking bribe	..	Kalithindrathu	..	Eating ragi food.
4. Toddy	..	Uggu perumalu	..	White water, good water.
		Olaithanni.		
5. Fowls	..	Rendukal Naidu	o.	The Naidu of two legs.

*E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, page 447.

6. Musalmans	..	Arthupottavungo	..	Those who have cut or (circumcised).
7. Rupees	..	Palkanna	..	Milk eyes.
8. Pariah	..	Utharalu-keenjala	..	The man that pipes.

The origin and tradition of the tribe are buried in obscurity. It is very probable that they are an aboriginal tribe in the process of Hinduisation. Nevertheless mythological or fanciful legends are not wanting to explain their origin. There is a story current that Pārvati, the consort of Siva, once disguised herself as a soothsayer, and that Koramas were her descendants. Another story connected with their occupation is that a Mēdar was asked to prepare a cradle for Pārvati's child out of a serpent, with its stomach filled with precious stones, but he was afraid of touching it on account of the rattling noise of the stones. Then a Koracha was asked to do the job, but he was given a knotted serpent, and as the precious stones were tightly packed in their place by knots, no rattling noise was heard; and he boldly took it, and split it like a bamboo and made a cradle. Both the tribes were henceforth enjoined to live by making bamboo wickerwork; but the Mēdar still goes about in a gingerly manner, and splits his bamboos from the bottom, while the Koracha does it from the top. As a reward for the cradle made by him, Pārvati presented the Koracha with a divining rod of the bamboo, and a winnow which she has been using herself for fortune-telling, and this is how the profession has come down to them.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION
OF THE
TRIBE.

There is a story in the Mahabharata which says, that the Koravas are the descendants of Prince Dharmaraja, who, to avoid quarrel with Duryodhana, went into exile, and that a woman who loved him went out in search of him, disguised as a fortune teller. He and their children were known as Koravas from *kuru* which means fortune-teller. This would

indicate that the Koravas were originally from the north. It is true that in the *Mahabharata* there were exploits performed by the Kurus which were befitting the genius of a tribe such as the Koravas. But the statement that the Koravas are the forbears of the Kurus can be accepted only with great hesitation.

In all probability, they might have belonged to one of the aboriginal tribes of South India, and as Oppert opines, they must have been of the same stock as the Vēdāns of Ceylon. According to Buchanan, the Koravas once ruled South Canara under a chief called Habashika. The resemblance of his name to Habishi suggests an Abyssinian ruler. He describes them as bearing but a bunch of grass, eating beef and offal and worshipping a stone, Bhuta.* Abbe Dubois calls them *Kalla Bantaru*, and describes them as carriers and basket-makers who were perpetually wandering about, and showed great affinity with the Gypsies of Europe.† A regiment of Koravas known as *Kalla Bantaru* was employed by Tippu Sultan to spy and rob the enemy. To save themselves from depredations committed by the tribe, the inhabitants of the country paid regular blackmail either in money or in kind.‡

HABITATIONS.

Korachas were formerly a nomadic people, but many of them have now settled in towns and villages. They have no recognised head-quarters. The nomadic section are essentially a criminal class, figuring largely in dacoity, highway-robbery and burglary. They go about in gangs on their criminal expeditions, and different gangs have some means of keeping themselves informed of the movements and

* E. Enthoven : *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II, page 206

† Abbe Dubois : *Hindu Customs and Manners*, Part I, Chapter V.

‡ Rice : *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pages 312, 350, Vol. III, page 214.

places of rendezvous of their allied gangs, to whatever distance they may penetrate.

Uru-Korachas live in houses similar to those of other castes of their own standing, but the wandering Korachas live outside the villages, in temporary huts with arched coverings, like the top of a country cart, the bent bamboos being stuck in the ground, so as to leave a breadth of about four feet. They encamp in groups, and when they shift to their places, they carry away their huts on their bullocks. The thieving gangs generally select their places for camping in the jungle.

They have no objection to take into their community persons, male or female, of other castes, such as Okkaligas.

Endogamous Groups.—There are four main divisions which, though originally based on occupations, have become endogamous at present. They are Ūru or Dabbē Korachas, Uppu or Ghattada Korachas, also known as Ettina Korachas, Kinchige Korachas, and Sonai Korachas. There are also two other groups, namely, Patrada Korachas, and the Sule Korachas. There are also other endogamous groups based on occupation, and are not found in the State. They are :—*

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
TRIBE.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Bhajantree Koraver | Musicians. |
| 2. Thappai | do .. Bamboo splitters. |
| 3. Kaval | do Watchmen. |
| 4. Koonachi | do .. Brush-makers. |
| 5. Koodiketti | do .. Those who make slings and nets. |
| 6. Nari | do .. Jackal hunters. |
| 7. Pachakutti | do .. Those who tattoo. |
| 8. Uppu | do .. Salt carriers. |

*W. J. Hatch: *The Land Pirates of India*, Chapter V, page 63.

9. Koot Kaekaris Koraver. Dancers.
 10. Paun do .. Snake-charmers.
 11. Ram do .. Stone-workers.
 12. Sadepati do .. Jungle people.
 13. Karuvepillai do .. Those who deal in leaves.

Ūru Korachas are so called because they have settled down in towns and villages. They are agriculturists and basket makers, and their women practise tattooing and fortune-telling. They are also called Dabbe Korachas, because they prepare bamboo baskets and other wicker-work. Uppu Korachas trade in salt, and are known also as Ghattada Korachas, because, before the introduction of railways, they were the chief carriers of salt for the trade between the sea-coasts and the interior of the country above the ghats. Ettina Korachas use bullocks more than donkeys as beasts of burden and have incurred notoriety as cattle-lifters. Kunchige Korachas are those who manufacture Kunchige, or the brush used by weavers for starching their yarn. Sonai* Korachas get their name from a wind instrument (a pipe called *sonai* in their dialect) on which they play.

Except Ūru and Sonai Korachas, who are almost settled, and live within villages, they are more or less reputed to be thieves, and are known by the nickname of Kalla or thieving Korachas.

Exogamous Clans.—They have four exogamous clans:—Satpadi, Kavadi, Menpadi, Mendragutti. It is said that the members of Satpadi division regard the Kakke plant as sacred, and those of the Kavadi, the margosa tree, and they set up stones to represent their family gods underneath these trees,

* They may be easily identified as the snake-charmers, who come begging, playing on their pipes, with cobras which they exhibit before houses.

to worship them. The meanings of these terms are obscure, and are said to be connected with the various services performed to the god (Venkataramanaswāmi) at the shrine of Tirupati. It is stated that Satpadi are so called because they adorn their god with flowers and jewels, this process being in Tamil styled Satpadi, which is equivalent to *Samarpāne* in Sanskrit. Kavadi means a carrying-pole, and the people of this division are said to have carried their offerings to their god, suspended to a pole at both ends. The Menpadi division sing praises of their god before the idol; and the Mendragutti division offer shoes to the idol.

The following exogamous clans (*intipēru*) are found to exist among the Uppu Korachas; and they are given below :—

Ambojala—lotus.	Pulu—flowers.
Avula—cows.	Ragala—ragi, grain.
Bandi—cart.	Samudrala—sea.
Dasari—Vaishnava mendicant.	Suka—star.
Gajjala—small bell.	Thoka—(tail).
Kampa—bush of thorns.	Uyyala—swing.
Kanaga (Pongamia glamera).	Venkitagiri—a town.
Katari—dagger.	
Mogili (Pandanus fasci- cularis).	

It is said that a knowledge of these clan names is useful to establish a man's identity. A Koravan who is generally untruthful is seldom, if ever, so as regards his clan name and his father's name*.

Satpadi and Kavadi are said to be the only two proper clans, the other two Mendragutti and Menpadi

* E. Thurston : Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. III, p. 452.

being late immigrants from the Bandar country (Krishna district). They received separate names, and even now, in some places, it appears that inter-marriages between Satpadi and Mendragutti or Kavadi Menpadi are not allowed ; but this distinction has not long been recognised. Korachas have also what are known as family or house names, which, however, have no significance in marital relations. Some of these names are appended. They have no hypergamous groups.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS
AND
CEREMONIES.

Marriages are generally celebrated after puberty. A woman may, without incurring any social odium, remain unmarried. Should she be discovered to have gone astray, she is made to join the man, in *kūdike*, if he is of the same caste. If the paramour is of a different but higher caste, her fault may be condoned by a fine, but if he happens to be of a lower caste, she loses her caste. Polygamy is allowed and practised to some extent according to the means of the husband, but polyandry is unknown.

In marriages, these people avoid girls among their agnatic relations and others born in their own group, the affinity to the group being traced through males. Marriage with an elder sister's daughter is allowed, but the daughter of a younger sister may not be taken to wife, save by a widower. A maternal uncle's or a paternal aunt's daughter may be married ; but in the case of the paternal aunt's daughter, if the bride-groom's father or paternal uncle (younger or elder) has already married a daughter of hers, the other may not be married by the nephew. A man may marry two sisters but not simultaneously. It is said that if a man has married the younger of the two sisters, the elder may not afterwards be taken to wife, either in regular marriage, or in *kūdike*, on the ground that the relationship as



A GROUP OF KORACHA FEMALES.

wife's sister is looked upon as equivalent to that of a mother, thus rendering marriage with her incestuous. Two sisters may be married by two brothers. The only other formula not covered by the rule of exogamy is that the intended couple should not be related, either actually, or by analogy, as parent and child, or as brother and sister. There is no objection to the exchange of daughters between two families in marriage. It is a binding custom among the Korachas that the first two daughters of a woman must be given to her brother on a reduced *tera*, to be married either by himself, or to his sons. If he has no sons, and does not himself stand in need of the girls for marriage, his right to them is exercised by his getting two-fifths of the *tera* amount payable for each of them at their marriage, but if he takes them, he pays only 12 pagodas each, while the usual *tera* is 20 pagodas.

This is one of the few castes in which the wife may be older than the husband by months, and even, rarely, by years. This is explained as due to their disinclination to forego their right to marry a sister's daughter, which is generally recognised in the caste. There are no impassable barriers to marriage imposed by religious or professional considerations, but they usually contract marital relations only with families that are known to one another, and that are already so connected. Such of the caste as have long given up criminal and predatory habits, and have settled in towns and villages, owning houses and other property, will naturally not enter into alliance with their castemen who are still notoriously addicted to such habits.

The Korachas who have adopted settled habits imitate Okkaliga and other similar castes in their marriage ceremonial to a greater or less extent. But the wandering portion of them still retain their

peculiarities. They observe no *Vilya Sāstra*, do not call in any band of pipers, nor use the *bhashinga*, marriage chaplet, and some do not even erect a marriage booth. The Brahman astrologer is consulted, only to see if the stars corresponding to the names of the parties agree * and to fix a day. He has no further share in the celebration of the marriage. Monday is considered the proper day, to commence the actual ceremony. On the previous Friday, the bridegroom goes to the bride's hut, and presents her with a few coins, the acceptance of which signifies her consent. They are then both rubbed with turmeric paste, and have a general feasting separately in their own places. If the parties live in separate villages, the bridegroom and his party arrive at the village of the bride, and put up their hut near hers.

On the day fixed for the marriage, two fresh huts are erected, with their doors opening to the east, one being for the bride, and the other for the bridegroom. Strictly speaking, this should be done though they live in houses in villages, as marriages must always take place before huts temporarily put up; but those living in towns have mostly given up this practice. The parties are led to their huts, anointed and bathed. They are then seated on pieces of date-mats, and besmeared with turmeric. After this, a dinner is given to the castemen.

In the evening, at about 6, o'clock, the bride and the bridegroom are again anointed and bathed. Dressed in fresh clothes, they are made to sit facing each other on date-mats between the two huts. The fringes of their garments are tied together, and between the couple two pots are kept on a date-mat and worshipped. They rest their hands on these pots,

* This is called in Kannada, *Hesarubala*, i.e., agreement of names.

the hand of the bride-groom being placed over that of the bride ; and each ties to the other's wrist a *kan-kana* or woollen and cotton threads twisted together, and a turmeric root, a betel leaf, and a copper ring tied to it. Similar *kankanas* are tied to the pots also. The couple are then led to the bride's house by the bride-groom's maternal uncle, or a similar relation. That night, the bride and the bride-groom observe a fast.

Early in the morning of the next day, the maternal uncle of either the bride or the bride-groom who happens to be unmarried, cuts a branch of a *Nerale* tree (Jambolana) and places it by a well, or a water course. Five persons, two men and three married women, go there carrying two sacred pots and a light, fill the pots with water, worship them and the piece of *Nerale* wood, and bring them to the bride's hut. This branch is fixed on a small dais in front of the bride's hut, and the pots are deposited on a bed of rice, spread near it. Two earthen dishes, filled with cotton seed and castor-oil, are placed on these pots and lighted, and kept burning till the *dhare* is over. It is the belief that if these lights, styled *mandapa dīpa*, burn steadily, the marriage will prove a happy one. A *kalasa* is also placed there on grains of rice spread in a dish, and *pūja* is made to it, a cocoanut being offered, and frankincense burnt.

The bride and the bride-groom are now conducted to this place, and stand facing each other, the bride looking towards the east. The bride-groom ties the *tali* made of a string of black glass beads round the bride's neck ; and then they put handfuls of rice on each other's head. The married couple with the three women and two men that have brought the sacred twig and pots partake of a common meal, at which cooked rice, plantains, jaggery and

ghee are served to them. After this, the rite of *Nahugu* is performed, when the bride-groom and the bride sit together, and offer to each other flowers, sandal, turmeric paste, and pan-supari, and pour *sase* or rice* on each other. Then, with the fringes of their garments tied together, and holding each other by the right hands, they are taken to bathe. They sit side by side on wooden pestles, laid on the ground, and water is poured on them. In wet clothes, they proceed to worship the *Nerale* twig by going round it thrice, and falling prostrate before it.

"The pot-searching" ceremony takes place next. A pot, decorated with chunam lines, is filled with red-coloured water, and coins of silver, copper and gold are thrown into it. The bride and the bride-groom are made to search for and pick them out alternately.

That evening, the bride and the bride-groom, dressed in rich clothes, and the girl profusely bedecked and crowned with flowers, go in state to a temple, and after worship, return to the bride's hut, the procession being led by a married woman, carrying a lamp on her head. At the entrance of the hut, the woman waves this lamp about the couple for which she receives a small present. They are then taken into the hut, given fresh clothes, and served with food, which they and the three married women and two men referred to, must eat from the same dish. This is called the second *buma*. Then the *Nerale* branch set up in the pandal is removed after *pūja* from its place. Before its removal, the castemen assemble, and demand presents, according to the means of the parties. Sometimes they demand

* Rice is believed to be the sign of plenty; and the throwing of rice on the heads of the couple by way of blessing is meant to invoke prosperity and happiness for them. In every auspicious ceremony, this is an important item.

the bride-price as high as a hundred rupees, but, by haggling, it is reduced to about five or ten rupees. Occasionally, when the parties are very poor, it is even compounded for a betel leaf and a nut. The bride and the bride-groom are again besmeared with turmeric, and the mother fills the girl's garment with presents, consisting of dry cocoanuts (copra) cut in halves, turmeric roots, betel leaves and nuts, five quarter-seers of rice, and five *hanas*. They then rise from their seats, with the fringes of their garments tied together, and holding each other's right hand. The bride transfers the presents into the cloth of the bride-groom, who keeps the rice, and returns the rest to her. They salute the elders by prostrating before them, and receive their congratulations, accompanied with presents of money, ranging from a two-anna piece upwards, though rarely going to rupees. The hut erected for the husband is then pulled down, and its materials and the domestic vessels contained in it are carried to some distance by the bride who also drives at the same time her husband's donkeys to the new site. She then puts up the hut again, and with five married women who accompany her, she fetches water from a well, cooks food, and serves it to all the guests. This finally instals her in her new house as its mistress. This hut is again pulled down, and those who have brought the materials of the hut and the milk post tie them up in a bundle, which they sink in a pond or well. They are then dismissed with presents of *pan-supari* and some money.*

The Koravas are said to be divided into two large families which they call Pōthu and Pēnti, meaning male and female. All the families included in the first division noted above are pōthu, and those in

* E. Thurston : *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, page 450.

the second are Pēnti. The families in the third division being the product of mixed marriages, and the position of the females being a lowly one, they are considered Pēnti. The Pōthu section is said to have arisen from men going in search of brides for themselves, and the Pēntis from men going in search of husbands for their daughters. This appears to be a survival of the dual organization like that prevailing among the Australian tribes.

The amount of bride-price or *tera* (or *oli* in Telugu), is twenty pagodas, or seventy-two rupees and in some places twenty pagodas or sixty rupees. It is said that sometimes as much as a sum of hundred rupees has to be paid. On account of the general poverty of the caste, the payment is spread over a large number of years, and it is reported to be not uncommon for a man to remain indebted to the family of his father-in-law during his whole life. Among some families, particularly among the wandering portion of the caste, the son-in-law lives near his father-in-law's hut till a child is born to him. In some cases, when the bride-price is not paid, her father can take the girl away and give her to another for a higher price. Among the more civilized portion of the caste, half the *tera* is paid at once, the remaining half being paid at a subsequent date, or on the consummation of marriage. A widower marrying a virgin need not pay any additional amount. The expenditure at a marriage of course greatly varies according to the means of the parties. In addition to the amount of *tera*, the average for a family in poor circumstances may be roughly estimated twenty rupees for toddy, twenty-five rupees as feeding charges, and the same amount for clothes and sundries. Both the parties, especially that of the bridegroom, must supply the castemen

with drink every day, and any omission to do so is resented, and leads to a quarrel.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for four days. During this period, she remains outside of the house, or hut, and a separate shed, made of green leaves of *Lakkali* plant, is put up for her. She is given a mat to sit on, and a branch of *Ekka* plant and an iron knife are kept always in the shed, to ward off evil spirits, to whose attacks she is considered specially liable during the period. Among people living in villages and towns, the ceremony of presenting the girl with cocoanuts and other things placed in her garment, is observed every evening. On the fifth day, two married women assist the girl in bathing, and present her with *pan-supari*, dried cocoanut halves, some dates and Bengal gram soaked in water. Green gram and rice are separately boiled and mixed together with jaggery, and made into balls, of which three are given to the girl to eat, the rest being given away to two boys and two girls. The castemen are invited to a dinner. The girl takes only one meal during the day. In the case of a girl who has attained puberty before marriage, consummation is delayed for three months after the marriage, at the end of which the husband goes to his wife's hut, and a dinner to the castemen is given. The man and wife thereafter live together.

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

Widow marriage is freely allowed, and a woman may marry as many times as she pleases, provided that at the time of every subsequent marriage, her previous husband is either dead, or has divorced her. The ceremony observed is very simple. The head of the caste named *Nāyak* is invited, along with other caste men. On the evening of the day fixed,

WIDOW
MARRIAGE.

before the house of the woman, her intended husband presents her with a new cloth, with or without some jewels in addition. The *hana* presented to the castemen by her previous husband at marriage, is returned to his heir, and a similar sum is now given to the castemen by the new husband. The *Nayak* then declares them husband and wife. The castemen are treated to a dinner, and regaled with toddy. The *tera* amount paid to a widow varies from three to fourteen pagodas.

A widow may not marry her husband's brother, but may marry any other belonging to his sept. It has been stated in one account that the second husband who is allowed the concession of paying a low *tera*, has to support the children of the woman by her first husband; though, when grown up, they revert to the family of the first husband.

ADULTERY
AND
DIVORCE.

Divorce is permitted on account of the wife's adultery. The divorced woman may marry her paramour, the latter having to pay to the previous husband not only the *tera* amount paid by him, but also the expenses of marriage. Adultery with a man of a higher caste is generally condoned, but when the woman has gone astray with a man of a lower caste she is excommunicated. It has been stated that a man of this caste who attempts to outrage the chastity of a married woman, is punished by having his head and whiskers completely shaved and by being paraded in the street seated on an ass, a paste of onions being previously applied to his bald crown. If he wishes to rejoin the caste, he is fined the cost of a dinner, with toddy to the castemen. They are not very strict in matters of sexual morality. But it is difficult to believe, as stated in a recent publication, that they sell or pledge their wives, "taking them back upon redemption of the

pledge, with any children born in the interval, and treating them as though nothing had happened." * No trace of this practice, as a custom, could be discovered by enquiries made in the State. But poverty and a low standard of morality account for the wives of criminals incarcerated for long terms accepting the protection of some one else, and returning to the husband after his release.

If a man has sexual connection with an unmarried girl, and the fact becomes known to the caste, the pair will be married under the *kūdi* form. The man pays some fine, which is spent in suppling toddy to the castemen, and gives a dinner. The pair remain separate till they go to Tirupati, and have the ceremony called *tala balu* performed there. Two or three castemen accompany them to the temple there. After worshipping at the shrine, the priest throws some rice on the heads of the pair, seated together with their children, if any, on either side. They then, in their turn, pour rice on each other's heads. This fully validates their marriage, and the children born of this wedlock, whether before or after this ceremony, will be entitled to have their marriages performed in the regular fashion. The omission of this ceremony is said to leave the children in the inferior status of *Kudike-Salu* (progeny of concubinage) and they are not allowed marriage relations with those of regular parentage.† If a widow, or a divorced woman marries, the form of marriage is *kūdi*, but she need not undergo the *tala balu* ceremony at Tirupati, as she has already undergone regular marriage once.

The ordinary Korachas do not observe any elaborate birth ceremonies. Soon after the child is

BIRTH CEREMONIES.

* Mūllaly : *Notes on Criminal Class.*

† This practice is in vogue only among the wandering portion of Korachas.

born, it is washed in lukewarm water, and sometimes the mother is also given a bath and made to lie flat, the waist being tightly bandaged. She is given the usual medicines, to keep her warm to help her recovery. On the fifth or the seventh day, she and the child are bathed. The whole house is cleaned with cow-dung water, and some castemen are invited to a dinner. In the evening of that day, the child is put into a cradle and given a name. Toddy, arrack and even foreign liquors are freely used on this occasion.

Their names are generally taken from those of the gods and goddesses, which include many sylvan deities. The following may be regarded as typical, both for males and females*. Sunka, Mara, Honnura, Hanuma, Malla, Yalla, and Macha. Nicknames such as *Jula* (curly haired), *Sotta* (crooked) are common.

When a child is born after the death of one or more children, a peculiar custom is observed in some places. Soon after she is purified by a bath, the mother either really or nominally goes begging to a few houses, to perform a vow previously taken to Venkatramana of Tirupati, or other family deity, while the father follows her with the child in his arms. Out of the money collected, a silver or a copper necklace is made, and put round the

* In the Dravidian languages, the same name may be used for both sexes, but the sex is always distinguished by the ending, masculine ending in *a* and the feminine in *i*. Except in familiar intercourse, an honorific suffix is always, especially in the higher castes, added, which may be either general, such as *appa* (father), *ayya* (from Sanskrit-*arya*, elder or sir), *anna* (brother), or professional or caste-denoting, such as *sastri*, *dikshita* for Brahmins, *arasu* or *raja-arasu* for the Arasu (or ruling castes), *setti*, *gauda*, *nayaka* for other castes, and *rao* indifferently for Brahmins, Mahrattas, Sudras, etc.

For female names, variety is not so great, the terminations being *amma*, *avva* (mother), *akka* (sister), and *ammanni* (a diminutive form, to denote dearness of *amma*), the latter being specially employed by the Arasu community, and those who imitate them. After naming the child, a string of cotton is tied round his waist. The string signifies the entry of the child into the Koravar community.

child's neck. The nose is bored, and a ring inserted in the hole; and the child is given a name, to denote that he has been born for the sake of begging, or by begging.*

There is no custom of giving two names to the child, one for ceremonial purposes, and the other for everyday use. But it is a notorious fact that the Korachas who are engaged in the profession of thieving have a number of aliases, and they have an understanding among themselves as to which should be employed on each occasion, so that the deception may not be discovered, even if the other members of the gang are separately questioned about the names of their associates.

The Korachas seem to have traces of the custom COUVADE. called Couvade, according to which, when a wife is delivered of a child, the husband is confined to bed and treated as a delicate patient. The practice seems to be dying out, and exists only in remote parts in the Shimoga district and elsewhere. These people were questioned in Hiriyur, Sira, Madhugiri, Kankanhalli, Mulbagal, and Goribidnur taluks, but they were generally unwilling to admit of its existence without a round-about cross-examination. There is a proverb in Tamil, which means that when a Korama woman brings forth a son, the Korama man eats assafoetida. Even where the usage has not disappeared, it is nominally observed by giving the husband a little of the medicines prepared for the wife.†

The general Hindu Law is applied to them in INHERITANCE matters of inheritance. But in the case of those not

* Such as Tirupatigadu or Tirupaniki-puttinavadu.

† The late Mr. G. Krishna Rao made some enquiry into this matter, while he was Superintendent of Police in Shimoga, and furnished a short account, which has been published by the Superintendent of the Madras Museum, in a Bulletin (Vol. IV. No. 2, pages 115-116).

regularly settled in towns, they rarely have property sufficient to raise any questions of dispute; and as such the property that they have is generally of a kind not to bear too close an investigation as to its origin, the disputes being generally settled among themselves. The father seems to be regarded as having more power than under the ordinary law, and the sons are not allowed to claim a share against his wish. They settle disputes by caste meetings, and the decisions are enforced by pain of social ostracism.

ADOPTION.

When a man has no children, he may adopt a boy, preferably the son of a brother, or one belonging to the same exogamous division. But a brother may not be adopted. There is no ceremony observed, except that of taking off the old waist thread of the boy and putting on a new one, and giving a dinner to the castemen, to announce the fact.

TRIBAL ORGANIZA- TION.

The Ūru and other settled divisions of the Korachas have a *setti* and a *yajaman* as their tribal functionaries, who enquire into and settle their disputes. Their presence is necessary in all marriage and other ceremonies. They are said to belong to the right-hand division, that is, to the eighteen phanas, and as such, are under the jurisdiction of the Dēsa Setti.

The wandering Korachas are divided into several gangs, at the head of each of which is a *nāyak* or headman. The office of this man is not hereditary, but goes to the most competent among them. He commands much respect in the community, and settles all the disputes among them. When they divide their predatory gains, the *Nāyak* gets an extra share, and in return it is incumbent on him to use every endeavour to obtain the release of any one of the gang that may be caught and cast into prison.

and to make proper arrangement, for the maintenance of the convict's wife and children. Periodically members of all the gangs meet at a known rendezvous, and settle their caste disputes. Such meetings continue for several days, and the toddy and arrack shops in the vicinity drive a good trade. Concerning the tribal government, Mr. Fawcett writes, "that the *kulam* or tribal assembly adjudicates claims, inflicts penalties, ejects individuals from the tribe or readmits them thereto. Free drinking of toddy at the expense of the parties accompanies every caste assembly. It is the aggrieved party who gives notice to the assembly of the *kulam*. The disputants join hands, thereby suggesting to the *kulam* that their dispute should be decided by them. Each pays one rupee. The *kulam* or the tribe may decide the dispute at once or adjourn for further consideration at any time. The next meeting is called the second joining of hands, when each pays one rupee as before to be spent in toddy. A man who fails to attend when the *kulam* has been assembled loses his membership in the tribe absolutely. If there is a third adjournment, that is a third joining of hands, each side pays three rupees and a half for toddy to keep the tribe in good spirits. As this is always the final adjournment, the decision is sometimes arrived at by means of ordeal. An equal quantity of rice is placed in two pots of equal weight having a quantity of water and there is an equal quantity of fuel. The judges satisfy themselves most carefully as to the quantity, weights, and so on. The water is boiled, and the man whose rice boils first is declared to be the winner of the dispute; the loser is to recoup the winner all his expenses. It sometimes happens that both the pots boil at the same time, then a coin is to be picked out of a pot containing boiling oil. There is yet another method

of settling disputes about money. The amount claimed is brought by one party and is placed by the side of an idol. The claimant is asked to take it, and should nothing unpleasant happen to him or to his family afterwards, he is declared to have made out his claim. The tribe has nothing whatever to do with planning the execution of offences, but is called upon to decide about the decision of plunder, as for instance, when any member of the expedition improperly secretes something for himself. In this connection, it is interesting to note the Tamil proverb 'Kuravan's justice is the ruin of the family,' because it refers to the endless nature of the quarrels, the decision of which will often occupy the headmen for weeks together. Sometimes the delinquent is made to dip his finger in a pot containing boiling ghee.

"In disputes where the matter is not serious, the parties will agree to meet under a tree in a particular place, but when this method of settling dispute is accepted, the guilty party often remains away. The other party takes a fowl, kills it, cuts off a leg, and fastens it to a tree, and makes a gash in the trunk, and calls on his god for justice. The other party is declared because he did not appear, and no *panchayat* court will consider the case, if there should be an appeal. This is Kuraver law, and is absolute."*

Innocence is often proved by a man making an oath over the prostrate body of his wife or child, and it can be done over the *saree* or dress of the woman.† Sometimes a circle or three straight lines are drawn, and he is made to stand inside, and in the name of his deity declare the truth, and his innocence is considered proved.

* E Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VII, pages 448 and 449.

† *The Land of Pirates of India*, pages 201 and 208.

They have no objection to take into their community persons, male or female, of other castes, such as Oakkaligas, Banajigas, or Kurubas, who are admittedly higher in the social scale. Some accounts say that the convert must be one belonging by birth to the right-hand group (18 Phanas), to which the Korachas belong. Some ceremony is observed at the time of admission. The candidate, after a bath, gets his tongue slightly touched with a burnt piece of gold, or a margosa stick. Sometimes he has to swallow a little turmeric and soapnut paste. He gets *tirtha* and *prasada* in a temple, and afterwards gives a dinner to the castemen, with whom he also eats, sitting in the same line, after the headman has publicly announced his admission. In the evening, the castemen are generally regaled with toddy at the expense of the new-comer. They do not employ Brāhmans for their marriages or any other ceremonial purposes. But some of them, settled in towns, occasionally call in Brāhmans, chiefly as a mark of respectability, and when any Brāhman goes to minister to them, he is not subjected to any social disability.*

ADMISSION OF
OUTSIDERS
INTO THE
TRIBE.

The Koravas are firm believers in omens and other superstitions, and they take a careful notice of good or bad omens before they start on a criminal expedition. They hold a feast in honour of the goddess Kolapuriamma or Perumal to help them in their enterprise. A young goat with coloured thread attached to its horns, and a garland of margosa leaves with a piece of turmeric round its neck is taken to an out-of-the-way shrine. Here it is placed in front of the deity, and cocoanuts are broken. The God is requested to let them know whether the

MAGICO
RELIGIOUS
BELIEFS.

* It is said that a Brāhman will not be admitted into their caste.

intended expedition is abandoned. Besides this, if the animal urinates, no better sign can be hoped for. Generally, they make it a point of their honour to pay for the goat for this religious purpose. Among other methods of consulting the omens is to sacrifice a fowl at a shrine, and sit in front of it listening to the direction from which the chirping of lizards originates. In the event of the omens being auspicious, the expedition starts off with *latis* (sticks) and axes. If they attack a cart, they begin by throwing stones to ascertain whether the occupants have fire arms. They consider it unfortunate, when starting, to see widows, pots of milk, dogs urinating, a man leading a bull, or a bull bellowing. On the other hand, it is good luck when a bull bellows at the scene of criminal operation. Sprinkling urine over doors and walls of a house facilitates breaking into it. If the excursion has been for house-breaking, the house-breaking implement is often soldered at its sharp end with *panchaloham* (five metals) to counteract the potency of evil eye. The evil tongue is a cause of failure. The fowl is an adjunct to the Korava's life. In early childhood, the first experiments in his career consists in stealing fowls; in his manhood, he feasts on them when he is well off and he uses them with abominable cruelty for divination or averting misfortune. The number seven is ominous, and no expedition of theirs ever consists of that number. The Korava women resort to divination. A long piece is pulled out of a broom, and to one end of it are tied several small pieces dipped in oil. If the stick floats in water, all is well, but should it sink, two of the women start at once to find the men. The eighteenth day of Āvani (September-October) is the luckiest day of all for the committal of crimes. A successful criminal exploit on this day ensures good luck

throughout the year. Sundays are not auspicious for criminal expeditions. Mondays, Wednesdays and Sundays are unlucky till noon for starting out from home. So too is the day after the new moon. Fridays are inauspicious for breaking into the houses of Brāhmans or Kōmatis, because they are engaged in the worship of Ankālamma to whom the day is sacred.*

In the Census Report of 1901, the Korachas are RELIGION. classed as animists. Owing to their contact with the higher castes and their residence in the vicinity of villages, they have been adoring the village gods and goddesses. But, as we go down the scale, the belief in spirits and the practice of offering worship to them are found to assume more and more importance. The Korachas can hardly be regarded as pure animists, as their principal god is Venkataramana of Tirupati, commonly known among them as Tirupati Timmappa. They go on pilgrimage to this shrine periodically, and, as noticed already, an informal union of an unmarried girl with a man must be confirmed by the performance of the marriage rite there.

The names of the chief female deities worshipped by the caste are Durgamma, Māramma, Halagamma, Māthangamma, Gangamma, Maddūramma, and Yellamma. The worship of a spirit known as Munisvara is very common in the caste. They offer sheep and goats to these deities, and they eat the sacrificed animals. Each of their settlements contains a hut, or other structure dedicated to one of these local gods, and they conduct the *pūja* in their own manner. They observe no fasts, but keep some of the principal feasts of the Hindus,

* W. J. Hatch: The Band Pirates of India, Chapter IV, pages 44-55.

such as the new-year's day, Gauri feast, and Navarātri. Saturdays are devoted to the worship of Venkataramana. All of them, whether belonging to the wandering or the settled section, bathe on that day, and if a Vishnu temple is near at hand, they go there, and offer fruits and flowers, and get *prasada* before they eat their food. They believe in sorcery, but consult no soothsayers. As the Koracha women are professional soothsayers, their want of faith in their own trade is significant.

The domestic god of the Korava in the southern districts of the Madras Presidency is said to be Sāthavu for whom a day of worship is set apart once in three or four years. The Koravas assemble in an open place to the west of the village, a mud platform is erected, on which small bricks are spread. In front of the platform are placed a sickle and arrack (liquor). Cocoanuts, plantains, fruits and rice are offered, and sheep sacrificed. Sandal and turmeric are poured over the bricks, and camphor is burnt. The proceedings terminate with a feast.

The presiding goddess of the Koravas is said to be Mūthevi, the goddess of sleep whom they worship with more dread than any other god or goddess of the Hindu Pantheon. Their object of worship serves a double purpose, one to keep themselves vigilant, and the other to throw their victims off their guard. Mūthevi is invoked in their prayers to keep themselves sleepless while on their nefarious purpose, but withal to keep their victims sufficiently sleepy over their property. The goddess is worshipped especially by females who perform strange orgies at which animal sacrifices are made, and there is a distribution of liquor in honour of the goddess. When prosecuted for a crime, the Koravan invokes the favourite deity to let him off with a whipping in

the words, "if the punishment of whipping be inflicted, I shall adore the goddess." In some places they adore Subramania.

The dead are buried. As soon as life is extinct, the body is washed, and a *nāma* mark is put on the forehead, if a male, and a *kunkuma* one if a female. Then it is covered with a new cloth and carried to the burial ground on a bier of bamboos. The carriers must, if possible, be all related as agnates to the deceased. As usual, the body is placed on the ground when half-way to the burial ground, and the chief mourner going round it three times from right to left,* breaks a new pot, standing by the head of the corpse, and throws cooked rice round about the bier. Thereupon the carriers change sides, and take the body straight to the burial-ground. They lower the body into the pit, and the chief mourner flings into it the first handful of earth, the others all doing likewise after him. When the grave is closed up, the chief mourner goes round the ground with a burning faggot and quenches it at the head-side of the grave.† The body is buried with the head turned to the south, and only the cloth in which the body has been rolled up is buried along with it.‡ On the grave is left a quarter anna ‡ coin, which a Holeyā takes for himself. The party return home, after bathing in a river, or a well, and have

FUNERAL
CUSTOMS.

* For auspicious ceremonies when one has to go round in token of showing respect or worship, the direction is from left to right—in the way the sun moves apparently in the sky. In inauspicious ceremonies, such as death ceremonies, circumambulation is generally in the contrary or *apasavya* direction.

† This is known in Telugu as *talagorivi pettedi*, i.e., placing a faggot at the head.

‡ This is called in Kannada *nelahaga*, and is said properly to belong to a caste of men known as Sudugadu Siddas, or Kati Papas in Telugu. The Holeyā collects this on behalf of the above, and when they pay the Holeyās periodical visits, the latter have to pay some amount on this account.

to see a light kept burning at the place where the deceased expired. On the third day, the chief mourner and some others of the family go to the burial-ground, and offer cooked rice and water to the deceased. Again, on the fifth day, they similarly offer food at the grave. It is believed that the spirit of the deceased is lingering about in the bodies of crows, which should eat this food. This day all the agnates take a bath, which removes the pollution. At the end of a month, or at a later date within the third month, all the castemen and relations are invited to a dinner, and offerings of food are made to a *kalasa* set up in the name of the deceased. They do not observe *srāddhas*, but during the Dasara or on the *Mahalaya*—new-moon day—a *kalasa* is set up in the middle of the house; new clothes, if they can afford to buy them, are kept near it, and *pūja* is performed by burning incense and breaking a cocoanut in the names of the deceased ancestors.

OCCUPATION. The groups named above are occupational. Ūru Korachas used to trade in earth, salt, and even now, in the places where it is prepared, they buy it up from the Upparas, or salt makers, and retail it to the villagers. The trade, however, has almost disappeared, owing to the competition of sea-salt. Now they have settled down to agriculture, and are hardly distinguishable from the other agriculturists, unless it be from the soothsaying and tattooing which their women still practise. The Korachas of the division are also known as Dabbe or Bamboo Korachas, and make mats, winnows, sieves, cradles, and baskets of all kinds and sizes. The Ghattada, or Uppu Korachas were also formerly great traders in salt. Before the country was opened up by railway communication, they used to ply

between the sea-coast and the interior, with droves of pack-bullocks and asses, on the backs of which their merchandise of salt and grains was transported. They used to travel from place to place with salt in caravans, with their women and children, carrying the materials of their huts along with them. But improved roads and means of transport have sadly encroached on their main lawful occupation, and have driven them more than ever to thieving, where they have not settled down to agriculture. In some places, however as *e.g.*, Āvani, in the Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district, they still adhere to their old profession, and buy imported salt in fairly large quantities at weekly fairs, and sell it retail in the surrounding villages, thus making a scanty living.

A small group of Koravas known as Pāmula (snake) follow the occupation of snake-charmers. Balfour refers to Walaja Kuravas as being musicians, their duty being to swing incense and sing before the God during a religious celebration. Another section of Korava called Koot (dancing) obtain their living by prostitution. It is said that they kidnap or sell children for this purpose. Some of the women of this class are thriving well in the Madras Presidency as experts in dancing.

Tattooing is done by the women of the Koracha caste. Women are their patrons generally, though occasionally men submit to the operation. "The tattooers generally use pigments of black and green colours. They prepare these pigments by mixing with the juice of certain plants or herbs fine charcoal powder obtained by burning a cocoanut shell and powdering it finely, or lamp-black or soot, and adding to the mixture, before it is used, either breast milk or water or both."*

* See Mysore Census Report, 1901, in which an excellent account of tattooing is given.

After the tattooing operation is over, the Koracha woman asks for and gets some chillies and little salt, which she waves round the tattooed portion, repeating a formula which means, "By the help of such and such a god, let the effect of evil eyes cast on the tattoo by the by-standers and others, including the woman herself, be removed." Then she smears this portion with turmeric powder. This is said to prevent the tattooed portion from swelling.

The designs employed in tattooing are very varied, flowers, birds, and plants being the most usual. The Koracha woman generally keeps a book in which they are drawn.

Criminal Propensities—Training of Children.—The technical education of Korava children begins early. From infancy the Koravas teach their children, "I do not know," in reply to questions put to them. They are taught the different methods of stealing, and the easiest way of getting into various kinds of houses. One must be entered through the roof, another by a hole in the wall, and by making a hole near the bolt of the door. Before letting himself down from the roof, the Korava must make sure that he does not alight on brass vessels or crockery. He generally sprinkles fine sand in small quantities, so that the noise made thereby may give him an idea of the situation. The methods to be adopted during the day when hawking wares must be learnt. When a child is caught red-handed, he will never reveal his identity by giving the names of his parents or of the gang to which he belongs. The Koravas are adepts at assuming aliases. But the system of finger-print records renders the concealment of their identity more difficult than it used to be.

On a careful examination of the ethics of the Koravas and allied tribes, it will be found that theft is a sporting method of making a living, and not a

crime as understood by the rest of the society. To them it is a love of adventure. If he has bad luck and goes to jail, it is a part of his life which must be endured, but he hopes for good luck in his attempts to escape. They believe it right to steal. When a Korava has committed a theft, he sometimes volunteers to help the police in the hunt of the culprit and knowing all the facts, puts them off the scent, and the crime goes unpunished.

Koravar Method of Robbery.—The Koravas have many varieties of method for the removal of other people's property, and of concealing it when stolen. They sometimes use drugs to produce unconsciousness. They have been known to play the part of beggars going down the street after dark calling for night alms, and the unsuspecting housewife wishing to earn merit, helps a poor man and goes out with rice when the thief quickly snatches off her jewel and disappears in darkness. Sometimes when they are seen early in the morning, and knowing that it is the custom for the women to get up earlier than the men, and be outside at their work before dawn, the Koravan will come and snatch off a neck jewel, and before an alarm can be raised, he will have escaped. Some sections carry scissors and are known as the scissors' thieves. They use scissors to snip off the jewels, and will cut chains of purses or rip open bags on their depredations.

Dacoity is one of their favourite methods of robbery. Five or more men form themselves into a company under a leader named Naik, and to him implicit obedience is given. He is chosen or would naturally hold the position, because of his superior skill in thieving or because of his ability in dealing with the police or village officials who are always watching them. He would know the Indian Penal Code, the limits of the jurisdiction of the

local police, and though not stealing himself would be the black hand, controlling the movements of the gang and directing the activities of the district. Sometimes they direct the torchlight, the torch being carried in a pot to suppress the flame on the way. The men come with bodies smeared with castor oil, and armed with spears and staves for a real battle, and in the past, firearms have been used if the opposition was great. The attacking party would be thirty or forty strong. Such a gang would be formidable, but such dacoities are now very rare. Police pressure has now been increased and become so strong that such gang robbery cannot be easily attempted. The gangs organised for burglary carry on their depredations over large tracts of country going often a hundred miles away from their homes. The leader of the expedition makes a detailed study of the places to be raided, and then thoroughly instructs his men as to their part in looting. On the night chosen, they drink sufficient quantity of beer to keep light hearted and happy, but never enough to make them lose control of themselves, and then they will start off, singly and by different routes to the place selected for robbery. Some of the elder men are deputed to watch in order to warn active participants of the approach of any defenders from outside. Others stand with staves to protect the operator who is trying to open the door with his jemmy. One will assist the man who with a small steel-tipped stave will be making a hole through the wall, and catches the brick falling to the ground which might cause a noise, and wake the inmates sleeping within. Some criminal gangs, knowing that the police have considered a case false, when a hole was larger on the inside than on the outside, now make their holes accordingly. When there are dogs about the house, they are soon

kept quiet with powdered *gajakai* or ganja leaves mixed with cooked rice which they eat greedily. Before they open the door, they make sure that the inmates are asleep. This they do by throwing sand and small stones on the roof prior to commencing operations, and when there is no movement within, and they are certain that all are asleep, they begin their task. Sometimes a small boy is brought and pushed through the small hole. The lad at once opens the door, so that the men may easily enter, and quickly escape should the inmates awake. Where it is not easy to open the door, the boy picks up all articles of value, and passes them through the aperture to the men outside. As a rule, they never wake the sleeping people unless they have valuable jewellery on them, and this they do only after all else has been removed, and as a final act, they wrench off the ear-ring or nose jewel and tear off the necklace, and disappear without delay. I saw one woman who had her ears ripped up by a wrench on such an occasion. As soon as this is done, a hue and cry is raised, and the whole hamlet is up and out to see what is happening; but by the time that a coherent story is told by the excited inmates of the looted house, the Koravas are far away and scattered in all directions, north, south, east and west, and a follow-up or chase is out of the question. Moreover, the villagers as a rule, calculate very carefully and quietly the risks to be incurred in running after a gang of dacoits. The latter are likely to be more fleet of foot and are probably smeared with oil, and if caught could not be held, and in the darkness of the night clues as to direction cannot be found; moreover, they are desperate when rounded up. They are meek as lambs on an ordinary occasion, but when the excitement of plunder is upon them, they are beyond control, and are not going to be

handed over to the police without a great effort to make their escape, and if a knife must be used, they will not hesitate to cut a way through. The villager therefore generally stays where he is. That is safer than to hunt for freebooters now out on the hills, dividing their spoil at their usual place in the forest, known only to themselves; long before dawn, the robbers will be back in their huts. When there has been no opposition encountered and the people have not been roused, the gang may return in a body to their rendezvous. They go in single file, the man or men carrying the booty always walking in the middle of the file. They and the loot are thus protected from attack in the front or from a rearguard action by those who might dare to chase them.

When there is insufficient time to divide the booty, or a doubt about anyone being near, the stolen articles are buried somewhere in the jungle, and they then hurry home, and before dawn, they make it their special business to report their presence to the headman of their village to put him off the scent. The buried articles will be recovered at a convenient time when the excitement in the village has died down, and the police have ceased to make special inquiries as to the whereabouts of the stolen goods, and efforts to track down the thieves have been abandoned. The crime may have been committed by the members of a gang now camping twenty miles in the opposite direction, so what possibility is there of catching the culprits? Omniscient policemen and a perfect arrangement of man-traps would be necessary, but where are such to be found.*

Division of Stolen Property.—The headman usually gets two shares and the other participants in the expedition one share. Women in the gang whose

* W. J. Hatch : *The Land Pirates of India*, pages 120, 121, 124, 170 and 175.

husbands are in jail get half a share. Pensioners who have done good service in the past, but who are too old to go on a long journey are given one-eighth of a share, and sometimes others have a grant. One-eighth of a share is served as offerings to their god. There is no regular rule to force all gangs to act alike in the distribution of their gains, and therefore considerable difference may be found in various localities, but is shared according to set principles, so that each person gets a fair amount. There is a code of honour among thieves, and honesty must be maintained in the clan. When there is no robbery or dacoity, and nothing to divide, special contributions are always made by the members of the clan towards the support of the Naik or leader.

It has been the custom from time immemorial for the Korava to be the watchman in his village, and in the absence of a member of the tribe, one of a similar tribe is placed in the responsible position, on the principle of "set a thief to catch a thief." This principle has been invariably adopted. The Koravan, as a hereditary thief, is appointed as the guardian of the property of the village. He has been a necessary evil, and must be engaged to avoid the advent of a greater evil.

The conduct of the Koravar is regulated by well defined rules. They should not enter the house by the front door, unless this is unavoidable, and if they must so enter it, they must not leave it by the same way. If they enter by the back door, they depart by the front door, which they leave wide open. They should not commit robbery in a house where they have taken food, thereby professing to have taken the oath of fealty according to their code of honour. In order to render their pursuit unsuccessful, they ease themselves in the house in which they have committed theft.

SOCIAL
STATUS.

Korachas occupy a place only next above the Nayindas (barbers) and Agasas (washermen), and do not enter the inner portion of the temple. They may live in the same quarter of the village which other non-brahman classes occupy, but in large towns, they usually have separate quarters. They are lower in status than the Mēdas, and other class of workers in bamboo. The Korachas who follow this profession may be distinguished from the Mēdas by the absence of Trisula, or trident, engraved by their (Korachas') knife. As regards dining, the only classes who eat in the houses of Korachas are Holeyas and Mādigas.

FOOD.

They eat sheep, goats, pigs, the larger species of the lizard class, and fish of all kinds. They do not eat beef, or kill snakes and monkeys. They indulge rather excessively in drink, using both country and foreign liquor.

APPEARANCE,
DRESS AND
ORNAMENTS.

Korachas get themselves tattooed. A woman may get herself tattooed any time before she becomes a mother. It is said that at the time when she gets tattooed for the first time, her paternal aunt is invited to a dinner. She is presented with a new *sari*, and the day is observed as a feast. As regards dress, men wear short drawers, turban, and an upper cloth, and sometimes a coat. They sport ear-rings, named *Metimuruvu*, and silver bangles on the wrists. Women wear a *sari*, but not a *ravike* but, among Uru and Sonai Korachas, women wear this article of dress also. The wandering Koracha women deck themselves profusely with garlands of glass beads.

CONCLUSION.

The Korachas of Mysore, like their brethren Koravers of the Madras Presidency were one of

the aboriginal tribes of South India. They must have developed themselves into one of the robber tribes in the Madras Presidency. They are found all over India in small gangs. They have been and are even now systematic thieves, and adopt this method of making a living because of the hard times and the difficulty of getting work for an honest living. They have been rightly called "The Land Pirates of India." They are a kind of gipsy tribe, without home, travelling from village to village, and like the snail, they carry the house on their backs with their property on the back of bullocks or donkeys. They are registered in police records as a criminal tribe and are always under police surveillance. The tribe has several endogamous groups based on occupations. Their marital and other customs are like those of other Sudra castes. The tribe has a well defined organization and unity. They have also good points with them. They are good sportsmen, and do not always indulge in murder like the Kallers in robbery. They may appear to be dull at times, but are keen-witted. When in dock, they can spar with the able lawyer, and can more often than not out-manoeuvre the police constables. They are in these days unable to carry on their depredations owing to the vigilant care of the government, and are consequently inclined to lead a settled life.



ABU-SALAM ZAMADER
Premier